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LO SHEN FU

(THE GODDESS OF THE LO RIVER)

By TS'AO CHIH

Translated with an

INTRODUCTION, TRANSCRIPTION and NOTES

by N. C. SEN

INTRODUCTION

Ts'ao Chih (A.D. 192-232) is one among the Chinese poets whose contribution towards the development of Chinese literature in general and Chinese poetry in particular has been widely acclaimed by the literary critics of his time and those of all the ages after him. Ts'ao Chih is also known as Tzu Chien—by his 'Tzu', i.e. the name generally adopted at the age of twenty.

Ts'ao Chih was born in a family of poets and the impact of family environment on him cannot be denied. While a boy of ten Ts'ao Chih excelled in composing verses and reciting innumerable poems. His father Ts'ao Ts'ao (A.D. 155-220) is described in Chinese history as the most unscrupulous and ruthless of generals. But he was a poet too. It is said about him: 'In more than thirty years of military campaigns, his hand never pushed books aside; in day-time he discussed strategy, at night he thought of the classics. When he ascended a height he had to compose a *fu*, after he had created a new poem, he set it to wind and chord instruments, so that music and text were perfect together.'¹ Ts'ao Chih's elder brother Ts'ao P'ei (A.D. 188-227), the founder of the Wei Dynasty (A.D. 220), is also famous in the history of Chinese literature both as a poet and as a literary critic of a high order. His long essay entitled 'On Literature' is a valuable contribution in the field of literary criticism. 'Wu-yen Shih' or the 'Five-word Poems' developed under the pens of Ts'ao Ts'ao and his two sons. Of them, of course, Ts'ao Chih is acknowledged as the most gifted one. Professor Yü Kuan-ying says, '..... there emerged a new group of poets under the leadership of the Ts'aos. The literature created by this group have common characteristics and marked for enlightened views. Ts'ao Chih is the standard-bearer of this group. The characteristics and the progressive character of literature of the age can be seen from his works.'²

Ts'ao Chih's early poetic talent is illustrated in a verse which is said to have been composed by him at the command of his elder brother Ts'ao P'ei within the time usually required to take seven steps. It is said that Ts'ao P'ei was jealous of Ts'ao Chih and always tried to pick on him as the latter was the most favourite son of their father Ts'ao Ts'ao. This

¹ See *Monumenta Serica*, Vol. IV, p. 126.

² Yu Kuan-ying: *Han-Wei-Liu-Ch'ao Shih Lun-ts'ung*, p. 92.

time Ts'ao Chih, though in his teens, accepted the challenge of his elder brother and readily composed the following verse:¹

The beans are boiled by the fire of the beanstalks,
Inside the cauldron they shed tears;
From the same root they sprang together,
Now burn each other what need to be so ire?

Ts'ao Chih wrote many poems (*Shih*), *Yüeh-fu* and *fu*. I do not propose to discuss at length the origin and development of the *fu* in Chinese literature. But a few words about the genre *fu* may be stated for general readers.² *Fu* was considered as one of the six elements of poetry during the Ch'un-Ch'iu (Spring and Autumn) era—to be precise during the period when the *Shih Ching* or The Book of Odes was compiled by Confucius. Pan Ku, himself a *fu* composer, stated in his preface to *Liang Tu Fu* (Two Capitals), '*Fu* is flowed from the ancient poetry.' The *fu* has been distinguished from the poetry in the *Yi Wen Chih* where it says, '*Fu* is chanted and not sung.' It may be pointed out here that both *Shih* and *Fu* were also composed in four-word a line. Thus, Yang Hsiung's *Sui P'ing Fu* and *Chiu Fu*, Liu Hsin's *Teng Fu*, and Ts'ai Yung's *T'uan Shan Fu* are all composed in four-word a line.

Liu Hsieh, the author of the *Wen-hsin Tiao-lung*,³ has elaborately dealt with the origin and development of the *fu* in it. He thinks that the *fu* signifies arrangement to create a literary pattern by selecting some material things in conformity with the feelings as a result of the perception of the said things. It thus implies two factors: one is the form and another is the content. As to the form it may be said that some of the *fu* are composed, as stated above, in four-word a line, but most of them are rhymed-prose. The metres too are irregular in them. The contents of the *fu*, especially those in the latter half of the Han epoch or after that, embrace wide objects. In fact, due to the popularity of the *fu* as a means to 'ascend to the height' or to get an official position, the *fu* composers did not leave anything undescribed or not praised. This resulted in repetition of the same object and same expressions in many of the *fu*.

It is said that the *fu* is developed from the Songs of the Ch'u State (Ch'u Tz'u) and was under influence of Ch'ü Yüan's *Li Sao*. This statement requires investigation, which cannot be faithfully done here. I would rather accept the view that the *fu* of the Han period (Han *fu*) is an independent genre and the product of a particular period in the ever-flowing stream of Chinese literature. Therefore, the typical *fu* of this period are not those which are composed in the conventional Chinese poetic form or in the *sao* form of Ch'ü Yüan, but those which are independent of these two forms. The number of this type of *fu* actually surpasses the number of the two former-mentioned forms.

Though the modern Chinese writers do not totally ignore the contribution of the *fu* in Chinese literature, they are mostly critical of this genre. Discussing about the *fu* Prof. Cheng Chen-to says, 'Beginning from Chia Yi and Mei Sheng the *fu* composers of the Han dynasty they tried their best to follow the path of Ch'ü Yüan and Sung Yü; what they achieved was not the true poetic thought of these two, but their backwash. We can

¹ *Ch'u Pu Shih* (Stans pede in uno).

² Prof. J. R. Hightower has also discussed the subject briefly in his article entitled 'The *Fu* of T'ao Ch'ien'; see the *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, Vol. 17.

³ English translation by Vincent Yü-chung Shih; published by the Columbia University Press, 1959, New York.

very well say that the age of two-Hans was an age of diminishing of poetic thought and isolation of poets.' ¹

Mao Tun, the writer and a theoretician of art and literature, admits that there are 'some relatively good writing in this genre', but considers the *Han fu* mainly as 'anti-realist'. According to him this was due to 'thought control practised by the Han dynasty rulers'. Mao Tun concludes by observing that, 'The reflection in literature of this rigid thought control and of the prevalent mysticism and pedantry encouraged and supported by the ruling class was the formalistic *fu*, the orthodox literature of the Han dynasty. This, we must say, was a step back from the realist tradition of the early prose and the *Book of Songs*.' ² Of course, Mao Tun must have realized the permanent injury caused by 'thought control' in literature; but his proposition is not tenable in this case. First, according to his own evaluation, there are both the so-called 'anti-realist' and 'realist' *fu* composed during the said period, which is not possible under any system where 'rigid thought control' is practised. Secondly, besides the genre *fu*, there were other genres and forms of literature which grew and developed during the period under discussion, viz. the *Yüeh-fu* and other folk-songs. Thirdly, 'the realist tradition' of the *Book of Songs* (*Shih Ching*) cannot be compared with the *fu* as the poems or songs collected in the former are not the work of an individual poet, and the method of selection of 305 pieces is well known; whereas the *fu* are the creation of an individual poet—more sophisticated—and the product of a society different from that existing during the *Shih Ching* 'era'. Therefore, we get in their work the so-called realist and anti-realist literature, which is not possible to judge from the 305 pieces of poems in the *Book of Songs*.

Ts'ao Tzu-chien Chi or the Collection of Ts'ao Tzu-chien's Work contains thirty-five *fu* composed by Ts'ao Chih. Of these the *Lo Shen Fu* is one of the best and at the same time the most controversial one. The controversy has mainly arisen due to a *chi* (memoir) which appears as a 'foreword' to the *Lo Shen Fu* in *Wen-hsüan Li Shan Chu* ³; It is contended in this memoir that the original title of the *Lo Shen Fu* was *Kan Chen Fu* or Lament for Lady Chen. The whole text of the said memoir is as follows:

At the end of the Han dynasty, Tung Ah Wang ⁴ of the Wei dynasty sought the hands of the daughter of Chen Yi, but his wishes remained unfulfilled as T'ai Tsu ⁵ gave her in marriage with Wu-Kuan-Chung-Lang-Chiang. ⁶ (Ts'ao) Chih was extremely disturbed and was so engrossed in thought day and night that he gave up bed and food. During the period Huang Ch'u he went to the capital to pay homage. The Emperor gave (Ts'ao) Chih to look at the embroidered pillow used by Empress Chen; looking at this tears slipped down from his eyes. The Emperor later on became aware that Empress Kuo's slander caused the death of Empress Chen. He, therefore, ordered the Crown Prince to entertain him with food and drink, he further made a gift of the pillow to (Ts'ao) Chih. (Ts'ao) Chih while (back) crossed Huan-yüan and took rest for a while on the bank of the River Lo ⁷; his mind was still absorbed in the thought of Empress Chen.

¹ Cheng Chen-to: *Ch'a-t'u-pen Chung-kuo Wen-hsüeh Shih* (Illustrated History of Chinese Literature), Vol. 1, p. 93.

² See Chinese Literature, No. 1, 1959, p. 215.

³ Included in chüan 19.

⁵ Ts'ao Ts'ao.

⁷ A tributary of the Yellow River. •

⁴ The Official Title of Ts'ao Chih.

⁶ Ts'ao P'ei.

Suddenly, the lady appeared before him and said, 'Originally I dedicated my heart to the Prince, but my wish could not be fulfilled. This pillow was brought by me from my home at the time of my marriage. Previously I gave it to Wu Kuan-Chung-lang-Chiang, now I give it to you; you may use it in your bed so that our desire may be accomplished. How can I express this in words? My mouth was gagged with chaffs by Empress Kuo. Now my dishevelled hair hang down the back and am ashamed of being seen again with such an appearance.' Immediately after these words were uttered she was no more to be seen there. (Afterwards) she presented pearls to the Prince through a messenger. The Prince returned the gift with a pendant of jades. He succumbed to both sorrow and joy, and consequently composed the *fu* Lament for Lady Chen. Afterwards Emperor Ming Ti¹ saw it and changed the title into *Lo Shen Fu*.

The authenticity of the above memoir has been challenged by many Chinese scholars. They contend that the *Lo Shen Fu* was not composed by Ts'ao Chih to reflect his frustration in love with Lady Chen, which is purely imaginary and without any foundation. It rather reflects Ts'ao Chih's 'disappointment in his political ambition'.²

For the sake of argument some scholars do not totally expel the view that Ts'ao Chih was in love with Lady Chen despite the fact that she was older than him by ten years. Lady Chen was born in A.D. 182. But Ts'ao Chih was only thirteen years old when Ts'ao P'ei married Lady Chen. Therefore, Ts'ao Chih fell in love with her possibly before she became his sister-in-law. But there is no proof to testify this fact.

Miao Yüeh contends that (1) the story of love between Ts'ao Chih and Lady Chen is a creation of the people of later days—especially coming from the pens of some of the poets of the T'ang epoch³ (618–906); and that (2) this *fu* was written by Ts'ao Chih in memory of Jen-Ch'eng Wei Wang Chang⁴ who was wronged by Ts'ao P'ei, and is not a lament for Lady Chen. He further points out that Ts'ao Chih could not have gone to pay homage to the court in the third year of *Huang Ch'u* as it appears in almost all the texts. He says that the numeral '三' (three) should actually be '四' now written as '卅' (four).

Miao Yüeh further quotes such expressions as '.... a beautiful jade she lifts,/ points out the depth of water beneath,/ and expresses her willingness;// I put on a pleasant expression to pacify my will/ only with propriety I control myself;// she lifts the sleeve of her robe to cover her tears,/ which flow and fall on her lapel like streams/ she is grieved as the happy meeting is nearing to end for ever,/ she sighs at the immediate departure for different lands . . .', and concludes that all these are allegorical expressions in sympathy of the Prince of Jen-Ch'eng and the whole idea has been expressed by Ts'ao Chih through the depiction of Fu Fei—a mythological figure and also described by the poet Sung Yü.⁵

¹ Ts'ao Chih's nephew Ts'ao Jui (A.D. 205–240).

² Kuo Mo-jo's *Lun Ts'ao Chih* (On Ts'ao Chih); Lu Ch'in-li's *Lo Shen Fu yü Hsien Ch'ing Fu* (The *Lo Shen Fu* and *Stilling the Passion Fu*); Chang Shih-ch'iu's *Lun Ts'ao Chih te Shih* (On Ts'ao Chih's Poems), etc.

³ Juan Chen, Li Shang-ying and some other poets of this period mention this legend in some of their poems.

⁴ Ts'ao Chang—son of Ts'ao Ts'ao, who was made a Prince of Jen-Ch'eng.

⁵ See *Chung-kuo Wen-hua Yen-chiu Hui-k'an* (Bulletin of Chinese Studies), Vol. 7, pp. 66–72.

Chang Chih-ch'iu while discussing Ts'ao Chih's relationship with Lady Chen says, 'As to why such a legend became prevalent it may be said that because Ts'ao Chih was a gifted person and Empress Chen was also a talented lady and the tragic consequences of their lives easily drew sympathy of the people of later times, (therefore), they gave a forced interpretation of the *Lo Shen Fu*, which produced much dramatic flavour.' ¹

Kuo Mo-jo thinks that the *Lo Shen Fu* is a recasting of the *Shen Nü Fu* composed by Sung Yü.²

In the preface of the *Lo Shen Fu* Ts'ao Chih admits that the *fu* was composed by him under the inspiration derived from Sung Yü's *Shen Nü Fu*. In fact, he has used many expressions used by Sung Yü in his *Shen Nü Fu*. But that does not justify our saying that *Lo Shen Fu* is a recasting of *Shen Nü Fu*. The very tone of *Lo Shen Fu* is different from that of *Shen Nü Fu*. The tune of *Lo Shen Fu* is melancholic, it is a tragedy. *Shen Nü Fu*, on the other hand, finds a happy end. As to the form and construction of the *Lo Shen Fu* Ts'ao Chih has also shown much creative ability no less inferior to Sung Yü's *Shen Nü Fu*.

The *Lo Shen Fu* acquired added significance when the celebrated Chinese artist Ku K'ai-chih (d. 406) painted in a scroll the picture that was visualized by Ts'ao Chih and depicted in words. Thus Ts'ao Chih's expression of inward emotion got the shape of an outward exhibition through the forceful brush of Ku K'ai-chih.³

The text of the *Lo Shen Fu* translated and reproduced here has been taken from *Ts'ao Tzu-chien Chi*, Vol. 3 of the *Szu-pu Pei-yao* edition. The transcription has been made according to the Wade-Giles system.

¹ See Wen-hsueh Yi-ts'an, Vol. I, pp. 169-170.

² The exact words of Kuo Mo-jo are: '... *Shen Nü Fu te kai t'i*' which may be literally translated as 'the changed title of the *Shen Nü Fu*'.

³ Beginning from the Yuan dynasty (1260-1368) onward the *Lo Shen Fu* also became a popular theme in Chinese operas.

Author's note :

In the course of writing the introduction and the notes it occurred to me that it would be better to incorporate in it the views of all the Chinese scholars who have dealt with the problems of *Lo Shen Fu* in the learned journals of China. I failed to procure them from Peking. I then sent my translation to Mr. Yang Hsien-yi of the Foreign Languages Press in Peking, whom I knew during my student days in the Peking University. Mr. Yang was kind enough to go through my translation and made some suggestions which I have accepted and acknowledge with thanks.

I am also thankful to Professor Tan Yun-shan, Director of Cheena-Bhavana, Visva-Bharati, and to my other colleagues, Dr. A. N. Tagore, Dr. Wei Kuei-sun and Mr. Jan Yun-hua. I also owe deep gratitude to Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji from whom I have received constant inspiration, guidance and encouragement. The readers may still find some mistakes in this translation or misinterpretation of the text. They are mine and I am responsible for that. I hope the readers will excuse my limitations.

洛神賦 并序

黃初三年余朝京師還濟洛川古人有言斯水之

神名曰宓妃感宋玉對楚王神女之事遂作斯賦

其詞曰

余從京域言歸東藩背伊闕越轅轅經通谷陵景

山日既西傾車殆馬煩爾乃稅駕乎蘅皋秣駟乎

LO SHEN FU

ping hsü

1 Huáng Ch'ü sān nién, yü ch'áo ching shih, huán chí Lò Ch'uān. Kū jén yü yén, szü shüi chih 2 Shén, ming yüeh Fú Fēi. Kān Sùng Yü tui Ch'ü Wáng Shén Nü chih shih, sù tso szü fù. 3 Ch'ü ts'ü yüeh:

4 Yü ts'ung ching yü, yén kuēi Tung-fān. Pèi Yü-ch'üeh, yüeh Huán-yuán. Ching T'ung-kü, ling Ching 5 shān. Jih chí hsi ch'ing, ch'ē tui mǎ fán. Erh nāi shüi chiā hū hēng kǎo, mò szü hū

THE GODDESS OF THE LO RIVER

with a preface

1 In the third year of Huang Ch'u,¹ I went to the capital ² to pay homage, while returning I crossed the Stream of Lo. The ancients say that ² the Goddess of this river is named Fu Fei.³ Being inspired by what Sung Yü (narrated) ⁴ to the King of Ch'u about the affairs of the Goddess ⁵ I composed this *fu*. ³ Its words as said are:

- 4 Am back from the capital ⁶ to Tung-fan ⁷ I return.
 Leaving behind Yi-ch'üeh ⁸ I cross over Huan-yuan.⁹
 Passing through T'ung-ku ¹⁰ I climb the Ching-shan mountain.
- 5 The sun is already waned to the west,
 The carriage worn and the horses exhausted.
 So, I stop my carriage on the bank of a swamp full of fragrant plants,

10

9

8

7

6

5

4

3

2

1

芝田容與乎陽楊

一作林

流盼乎洛川於是精移神

駭忽焉思散俯則未察仰以殊觀覩一麗人於岩

之畔迺援御者而告之曰爾有覲於彼者乎彼何

人斯若此之艷也御者對曰臣聞河洛之神名曰

宓妃然則君王之所見也無奈一作迺是乎其狀若

何臣願聞之余告之曰其形也翩若驚鴻婉若游

龍榮曜秋菊華茂春松髣髴兮若輕雲之蔽月飄

飄兮若流風之回雪遠而望之皎若太陽升朝霞

迫而察之灼若芙蓉

一作葉

出淥波穠纖得衷

一作中

脩短合度肩若削成腰如約素延頸秀項皓質呈

1 chih t'ien. Jung yü hü Yang-liñ, líu mién hü Lò Ch'uân. Yü shih, ching yí Shén 2 hai, hü yén szü sán. Fú tsé wèi ch'á, yáng yí shü kuân: tú yí lí jén, yü yén 3 chih p'án. Nái yüán yü chě érh kào chih yüeh: Érh yóu tí yü pí chě hü? Pí hó 4 jén szü? Jò ts'ü chih yén yéh! Yü chě tui yüeh: Ch'én wén Hó Ló chih Shén, míng yüeh 5 Fú Fèi, ján tsé Chün Wáng chih sǔo chièn yéh. Wú nài shih hü? Ch'í chuàng jò hó, 6 ch'én yüán wén chih. Yü kào chih yüeh: Ch'í hsing yéh! P'ien jó ching húng, wán jò yü 7 lúg. Jung yào ch'ü chü, huá mào ch'ün süng. Fäng fú hái jò ch'ing yün chih pí yüeh, p'iao 8 yáo hsi jò líu feng chih hui hsüeh. Yüán érh wáng chih, chiaó jò t'ai yáng sheng ch'aó hsiá. 9 P'ò érh ch'á chih, chó jò fú jung ch'ü lù p'ó. Nung hsiên té chung, lí hsiü tuán hó tú. Chièn jò hsiào ch'eng, yáo jú yüeh sú. Yén ching hsiü hàng, hao chih ch'eng

I fodder the horses in a field full of sweet grass.¹¹
At Yang-lin I have nothing to worry,
And cast a glance at the Stream of Lo.
My spirit then infatuated and sole allured,
All of a sudden my thoughts become delighted.
I bend and look below but nothing I see,
I raise my head up and a splendid scene appears before me:
My eyes set on a beautiful woman on the brink of a cliff.
I then pull my charioteer and ask him saying:
'Who is before you that comes here,
And such a beauty does she possess!'

The charioteer replies:
'Your humble servant has heard,
The Goddess of the Lo River, Fu Fei by name,
May be whom the Prince seeth.
If that be so, how her appearance looks like,
Your servant wishes to hear.'

I tell him:
Oh, her appearance!
Like a startled wild swan she flutters,
And like a flying dragon she rambles.¹²
She excels the glory of the chrysanthemum in Autumn,
And surpasses the luxuriance of the pine in Spring.
She looks like the hidden moon within thin clouds,
Like flakes of whirling snow in wind-stream she floats.
Looked at from far her lustre looks like the rising sun within the
mist in the morn,
Staring at her from near she is luminous like fully blossomed
white lotus on the green ripples.
Neither stout nor thin,¹³

10 Neither tall nor short.
Shoulders well-shaped as if properly carved,
Her waist round as though bound by silk cord.¹⁴
Her long and slender neck exposed,
Which reveals pure whiteness.¹⁵

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1
 解玉珮以要之嗟佳人之信脩羌習禮而明詩抗
 良媒以接歡兮托微波而通辭願誠素之先達兮
 湍瀨之玄芝余情悅其淑美兮心振蕩而不怡無
 遨以嬉左倚采旄右蔭桂旗攘皓腕於神滸兮采
 幽蘭之芳藹兮步踟躕於山隅於是忽焉縱體以
 綴明珠以耀軀踐遠遊之文履曳霧綃之輕裾微
 披羅衣之璀璨兮珥瑤碧之華裾戴金翠之首飾
 靜體閑柔情綽態媚於語言奇服曠世骨像應圖
 外朗皓齒內鮮明眸善睵輔靨承權環姿豔逸儀
 露芳澤無加鉛華弗御雲髻峨峨脩眉聯娟丹唇

一珍做宋版印

1 lou. Fāng tsé wú chiā, ch'ien huá fú yǔ. Yǔn chí ngó ngó, hsiū méi
 lién chuān. Tān ch'ün 2 wài lāng, hào ch'ih nài hsién. Míng móu shàn
 lài, fū yèn ch'eng ch'üan. Huán tzū yèn yì, yì 3 ching t'i hsién. Joú ch'ing
 ch'ò t'ai, mei yǔ yǔ yén. Ch'í fú k'uàng shih, kú hsiàng ying t'ú. 4 P'í ló yì
 chih ts'ui ts'an hsi, érh yáo pi chih huá chū. Tai chin ts'ui chih shōu shih,
 5 chui míng chū yì yào ch'ü. Chien yüan yú chih wén lǔ, yì wú shāo chih
 ch'ing chū. Wéi 6 yǔ lán chih fāng ái hsi, pù ch'ih ch'ú yǔ shān yǔ. Yǔ shih,
 hū yén tsung t'i, yì 7 áo yì hsi. Tsò yì ts'ai maó, yǔ yin kuei ch'í. Jāng hào
 wàn yǔ shén hū hsi, ts'ai 8 t'uān lai chih hsián chih. Yǔ ch'ing yüeh ch'í
 shú méi hsi, hsin chèn tàng érh pù t'í. Wú 9 liáng méi yì chieh huān hsi,
 t'ò wéi pō érh t'ung tz'ú. Yüan ch'eng sù chih hsién tá hsi, 10 chieh yǔ p'ei
 yì yào chih. Chuēn chiā jèn chih hsin hsiū, ch'iang hsi lí érh míng shih.
 K'ang

- She has not used
- 1 Aromatic oil or lead powder.
The curls of her hair as high as gathered clouds,
Slightly curved are her long eyebrows.¹⁷
 - 2 Her red lips flash outside,
While gleaming teeth dazzle from within.
Her brilliant eyes gracefully gaze around,
Beautifully proportioned are her two dimples.¹⁸
Her posture captivating,
 - 3 Attitude calm and leisurely.
Soft, sentimental and genteel are her manners,
The language (she speaks) is attractive.
Her wonderful garments matchless in the world,
Her structure resembles a fine piece of portrait.
 - 4 Her silken skirt decorated with precious jades,
And ear ornaments are made of rare stones and pearls.
Crowned with golden-ornaments with feathers of kingfishers,
 - 5 Strung pearls enhance the brightness of her body.
Her shoes are decorated and are used to wander in places distant,
Her skirt is like a mist.
 - 6 Feeble she is like fragrant grass in an orchid,
Her steps hesitant and indecisive as if on the mountain precipice.
- Thereupon, suddenly she relaxes her body,
Rambles and plays gayfully.
- 7 On her left are colourful tail-banners wherein she leans,
On her right the shade of camphor stand-flag under it she shelters.
She stretches her white arms on the shore of the divine river,
 - 8 From the swirling torrent the black iris she gathers.
My passion is delighted by her virtue and beauty,
My heart starts throbbing and not gratified.
 - 9 There being no good go-between to arrange a joyful union,
I entrust the gentle waves to convey to her my message.
I wish my sincerity reaches her first,
 - 10 So as a signal I untie my girdle of jade-pendant.
Ah, how graceful and considerate is she,
Conversed with Rites and versed in Odes.
As a sign of reciprocation a beautiful jade she lifts,

10

9

8

7

6

5

4

3

2

1

曹子建集 卷三

三二中華書局聚

瓊瑤以和予兮指潛淵而爲期執眷眷之款實兮
 懼斯靈之我欺感交甫之弃言兮悵猶豫而狐疑
 收和顏而靜志兮申禮防以自持於是洛靈感焉
 徙倚彷徨神光離合乍陰乍陽竦輕軀以鶴立若
 將飛而未翔踐椒塗之郁烈步蘅薄而流芳超長
 吟以永慕兮聲哀厲而彌長爾迺衆靈雜還命儔
 嘯侶或戲清流或翔神渚或採明珠或拾翠羽從
 南湘之二妃攜漢濱之遊女嘆匏瓜之無匹兮詠
 牽牛之獨處揚輕袿之猗猗一作靡兮翳脩袖以延
 佇體迅飛鳧飄忽若神凌波微步羅襪生塵動無

1 ch'íung tì yí hó yú hsi, ch'ih ch'ien yüan erh wèi ch'í. Ch'ih chüan chüan
 ch'ih k'uán shíh hsi, 2 ch'ü szü líng ch'ih wò ch'í. Kán Chiáo Fú ch'ih ch'í yén
 hsi, ch'àng yú yü erh hú yí. 3 Shou hó yén erh ch'ing ch'ih hsi, shén lí fáng
 yí tzu ch'ih. Yü shih, Lò Líng kán yén, 4 hsi yí p'áng huáng. Shén kuáng
 lí hó, chà yin chà yáng. Sung ch'ing ch'ü yí hó lí, jò 5 chiáng fèi erh wèi
 hsiáng. Ch'ien chiáo t'ü ch'ih yü lièh, pù hêng pó erh líu fáng. Ch'áo ch'áng
 6 yía yí yung mù hsi, shêng ái lí erh mí ch'áng. Erh nái chung líng tsá t'á,
 ming ch'ou 7 hsiào lü. Huò hsi ch'ing líu, huò hsiáng shén ch'ü; huò ts'ái
 ming ch'ü, huò shíh ts'üi yü. Ts'ung 8 Nán Hsiáng ch'ih Erh Fèi, hsi Hán
 Pín ch'ih Yü Nü. T'án P'áo Kuá ch'ih wú p'í hsi, yung 9 Ch'ien Nü ch'ih tú
 ch'ü. Yáng ch'ing kuéi ch'ih yí mí hsi, yí hsiü hsiü yí yén 10 chü. T'í hsiün
 fèi fú, p'iao hú jò Shén, líng p'ó wéi pù, ló wà shêng ch'én. Tung wú

Points out the depth of water beneath²²
 And expresses her willingness.
 I retain my sincere affectionate feelings,
 Am afraid of being deceived by this spirit.
 Feeling the fate of Chiao-fu may re-occur,²³
 Am sad and hesitant, and like a fox suspicious.²⁴
 I put on a pleasant expression to pacify my will,
 Only with Rite I control myself.

Thereafter, the Spirit of the River Lo is moved
 And walks to and fro.
 Her divine lustre twinkles—
 Now dark and now bright.
 Her tender stature stands like a crane,
 As though it would fly but not flying yet.
 Mildly she treads on the path of pepper plants with strong
 fragrance,
 Steps on the bush whence perfume flows.
 A long sigh of eternal longing she sighs,
 Her voice grieved and agitated remains for long.

Now, all the spirits gather together,
 Calling each other and whistling one another among themselves.
 Some play in the pure stream,
 Some hover over the divine islet.
 Some collect bright pearls,
 Some pick up the kingfishers' feathers.
 The two fairy princesses from the South Hsiang River,²⁵
 Come hand in hand with the Wandering Fairy Maiden of the
 Han River.²⁶
 For not having a mate I sigh like the P'ao Kua star,²⁷

Alas! Like the Herdboy²⁸ am left alone.
 She displays her transparent upper garments beautiful and
 charming,
 Covers herself with her long sleeves and wait for long.

- 10 Her body then moves like a flying duck,
 And flutters like a goddess.
 With her tiny steps she walks on the water,
 The waves splashed on her silken socks resemble dust.

10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
潛處於太陰長寄心於君王忽不悟其所舍悵神	一逝而異鄉無微情以效愛兮獻江南之明璫雖	袂以掩涕兮淚流襟之浪浪悼良會之永絕兮哀	接之大綱恨人神之道殊兮怨盛年之莫當抗羅	北汜過南岡紆素領回清陽動朱唇以徐言陳交	車之容裔鯨鯢踊而夾轂水禽翔而爲衛於是越	文魚以驚乘鳴玉鑾以偕逝六龍儼其齊首載雲	於是屏翳收風川后靜波馮夷鳴鼓女媧清歌騰	潤玉顏含辭未吐氣若幽蘭華容婀娜令我忘餐	常則若危若安進止難期若往若還轉盼流精光

一珍做宋版印

1 ch'áng tsé, jò wéi jò ān. Chín ch'ih nán ch'í, jò wǎng jò huán. Chuán mién liú ch'ing, kuāng 2 jùn yǔ yén. Hán tz'ú wèi t'ū, ch'í jò yū lán. Huá jūng Ngō Ná, líng wǒ wàng ts'ān. 3 Yǔ shih, P'ing Yi shōu fēng, Ch'uān Hòu ching p'ō. Fēng Yi míng kū, Nǚ Kwā ch'ing kō. T'eng 4 wén yú yǐ ching ch'eng, míng yǔ luán yǐ hsiē shih. Liú lóng yén ch'í ch'í shōu, tsai yún 5 ch'ē chih jūng yi. Ching ní yūng érh chiā kū, shūi ch'in hsiāng érh wèi wèi. Yǔ shih, yūeh 6 pēi chih, kuò nán kāng. Yǔ sù líng, hui ch'ing yáng. Tūng chū ch'un yǐ hsiǔ yén, ch'en chiaō 7 chieh chih tà kāng. Hèn jén Shén chih taò shū hsi, yūan sheng nién chih mò tǎng. K'ang ló 8 mèi yǐ yén t'í hsi, lèi liú chih chih lǎng lǎng. Taò liáng hui chih yūng chieh hsi, ai 9 yǐ shih érh yǐ hsiāng. Wú wéi ch'ing yǐ hsiào ai hsi, hsién Chiāng-nán chih míng tǎng. Sūi 10 ch'ien ch'ū yǔ t'ài yin, ch'áng chih hsiir yǔ Chūn Wáng. Hū ná wǎ ch'í suǒ shè. ch'ang Shén

- 1 Her movements irregular,
It seems it may harm her or may not.²⁹
And it is difficult to guess when she walks or stops—
Now she proceeds and now she retreats.
She turns to give a side glance,
And spirit flows out from her eyes,
 - 2 Her countenance shines bright.³⁰
She has words but not letting them out,
Her breath elegant and fragrant like an orchid.³¹
So graceful is her countenance
That it makes me to forget my meals.
 - 3 Thereafter, P'ing Yi ³² withdraws the wind,
Ch'uan Hou ³³ calms the waves.
Feng Yi ³⁴ beats his drum,
And Nü Kwa ³⁵ sings excellent songs.
 - 4 The flying fishes raise up to escort,
The sound of jades like the tune of the pheasant ³⁶ wither;
The six dragons head the carriage are well-arranged
 - 5 And carry the carriage of clouds.³⁷
The whales jump up and squeeze the hub of the wheel,
The water-birds hover to guard.
 - 6 Then, crossing the north stream,
She passes the southern hills.
She stretches her neck and turns her face back
And glances again.
She gently opens her red lips,
 - 7 Slowly says a few words on the principle of mutual meeting and
union.
She regrets the Way of Men and the Way of Gods differ,³⁸
She resents in our prime of life we cannot be lovers.
 - 8 She lifts the sleeve of the robe to cover her tears,
Which flow and fall on her lapel like streams.
She is grieved as the happy meeting is nearing to end for ever,
 - 9 She laments at the immediate departure for different lands.
'I have no little thing to present as a token of love,
Only a bright jade of Chiang-nan I offer.
 - 10 Though I remain hidden under the dark,
My heart shall rest with the Prince for long.'
- Suddenly I cannot trace her whereabouts,
Am deeply depressed for the disappearance of the brilliance of
the goddess.

5 4 3 2 1
 悵盤桓而不能去
 曙命僕夫而就駕吾將歸乎東路攬騑轡以抗策
 忘反思綿綿而增慕夜耿耿而不寐霑繁霜而至
 望懷愁冀靈體之復形御輕舟而上泝浮長川而
 霄而蔽光於是背下陵高足往神留遺情想像顧

1 hsiāo érh pì kuāng. Yü shih, pèi hsià líng kǎo, tsú wǎng shén liú. Yí
 ch'íng hsiǎng hsiǎng kù, 2 wǎng huái ch'óu. Chì líng t'í chih fù hsiáng, yǔ
 ch'íng chōu érh shàng sù. Fóu chǎng ch'uān érh 3 wǎng fǎn, szù mién mién
 érh tsēng mù. Yèh kēng kēng érh pú mèi, chān fán shuāng érh chih 4 shù.
 Míng p'ú fū érh chiù chià, wú chiāng kuēi hū tūng lù. Lǎn fēi p'èi yí k'àng
 ts'è, 5 ch'àng p'án huán érh pù néng ch'ù.

1 Under the dark.

Thereafter, coming down backward I climb the height,
My feet walk but my soul ³⁹ stays back.
The love and the image she leaves behind,
They cause me look back and make me grieved.

2 I long for the spiritual body of the Goddess to re-appear,
I row a light boat upward against the current.3 Floating on the stream it forgets to recede,
My affectionate thought does not break but increases.

The night passes not quietly,
A sleepless night it is,

4 And frost soaks me till it is dawn.⁴⁰

I ask my driver to make my carrier ready,
I want to return by the eastern road.⁴¹
I seize the reins to whip the horses,

5 But so deep is my sorrow
That I can hardly leave the place.

NOTES

¹ A.D. 222, the third regnal year of Emperor Wen Ti (Ts'ao P'ei).

² Lo Yang.

³ Fu Fei is said to be the daughter of Fu Hsi, the legendary emperor of China. The legend says that she was drowned in Lo River and became the Goddess of the River. She is also said to be the wife of Ho Po—the River God.

⁴ Liu Ch'en (WH 10.15b) writes the character *shuo* meaning 'to speak' or 'to narrate' after 2/11 in Text A. J. R. Hightower translates this line as 'inspired by Sung Yü's description of the goddess for the King of Ch'u . . .', see *H.J.A.S.*, Vol. 17, p. 191.

⁵ The legend goes that once King Hsiang of the State of Chu'u went to visit the Wu Shan peak in south-west of China, which was considered to be the abode of the Goddess of Wu Shan. During the said visit the King saw the Goddess in a dream approaching him and giving her company. Next morning the King narrated the dream to Sung Yü—a poet of the third century B.C.—and asked him to compose a verse on it. Sung Yü did it under the title *Shen Nü Fu*, or The Goddess. J. R. Hightower says, 'In both *fu* (Kao T'ang *Fu* and Shen Nü *Fu*) Sung Yü and King Hsiang are characters in the introduction, and it is the character Sung Yü who is represented as writing the *fu*. This could account for the traditional attribution to the historical person Sung Yü (about whom exactly nothing is known beyond his supposed association with that king and Ch'u Yüan). I very much doubt that the same man wrote both "The Goddess" and "Kao-t'ang", or that either poem antedates the Han dynasty, but I cannot support my skepticism with facts, and it is convenient to take "The Goddess" as a point of departure', *H.J.A.S.*, Vol. 17, p. 191.

⁶ Text A.4/4 Liu Ch'en (WH 10.15b) writes as *Ching Shih* which means 'the capital'. *Ching Yü* literally means 'the realm of the capital'.

⁷ Yu-ch'eng.

⁸ South of Lo-yang district in Honan province, see *C.K.T.M.T.*, p. 48.

⁹ 50 li south-east of Kung-hsien district in Honan province, see *C.K.T.M.T.*, p. 904.

¹⁰ In Shensi, see *C.K.T.M.T.*, p. 908.

¹¹ Text B.1/1-2 *Chih-t'ien* may be a place-name, so named for its production of 'divine plants', see Liu Ch'en (WH 10.16a).

¹² The expression is taken from *Shen Nü Fu*.

¹³ Text B.9/13-16 *Nung hsien te chung*, in *Shen Nü Fu*: Nung pu tuan, hsien pu ch'ang, 'Stout and slender, neither tall nor short'.

¹⁴ Cf. *Teng T'u Tzu Hao Se Fu*: Yao ju shu su. *Yüeh* (Text B.10/11) and *shuo* are synonyms.

¹⁵ The expression is taken from Szu Ma Hsiang Ju's *Mei-chen Fu* (A Beautiful Woman).

¹⁶ Text C.1/8 *fu* and in Liu Ch'en (WH 10.17a) *pu*, both are used in the sense of negative.

¹⁷ Cf. *Shen Nü Fu*: Mei lien chuan szu ngo yang, 'The eye-brows connected and elegant look like the silkworm moth'.

¹⁸ Text C.11-12 *Fu Yen*, in Li Shan (WH 7.9b) and Liu Ch'en (WH 10.17a) *Yen Fu*.

¹⁹ Cf. *Shen Nü Fu*: Huan tzu wei t'ai, 'The whole disposition is a rare beauty'.

²⁰ Cf. *Shen Nü Fu*: Ku fa to ch'i ying chün chih hsiang, 'Her frame most wonderful like the appearance of a true princess'.

²¹ Text C.6/1-2 Yu Lan 'also symbolizes purity', see J. R. Hightower, *H.J.A.S.*, Vol. 17, p. 181.

²² Text D.1/8-9 *Ch'ien yüan*, 'hidden in the depths' (Mathews); Liu Ch'en (WH 10.18a) *Ch'ien ch'uan*, 'hidden stream'. I take it as indicating the depth of the river.

²³ The story of Chiao Fu is that one day while Chiao Fu was passing by a road he faced two girls coming from the opposite direction. Being attracted by their beauty he set his eyes on them for a while. One of them while passing him gave a bracelet to him. Chiao Fu then looked back to have a glimpse again, but could see none. He looked at his hand to see that the bracelet was already vanished, see Liu Ch'en (WH 10.18b).

²⁴ As commented in Liu Ch'en (WH 10b).

²⁵ Hsiang Chün and Hsiang Fu Jen are mentioned in Ch'ü Yüan's *Chiu Ke* o The Nine Odes.

²⁶ Hsieh says, 'The Goddess of the River Han can be seen, she can neither be invited nor obtained'.

²⁷ Text D.8/13 P'ao Kua: The name of a star. The word literally means 'Gourd'. See Juan Yü's *Chih Yü Fu* (Putting a Stop to Desires), 'I sympathize with the Gourd which lacks a mate'; Hightower, *H.J.A.S.*, Vol. 17, p. 173.

²⁸ It refers to the famous Chinese legend of Niu Lang and Chih Nü—the Herd boy and the Weaving Maiden.

²⁹ This expression may be literally translated as 'As though in danger as though in safe'.

³⁰ Cf. *Shen Nü Fu*: *Pao wen jun chih yü yen*, 'Firmly glossy like the colour of a jade'.

³¹ Cf. *T'u fen fen ch'i jo lan*, 'Emits sweetly perfumed breath like (the flavour of an) orchid'.

³² Wang Yi, the commentator of Ch'u Tz'u describes P'ing Yi as the 'Master of Rain'.

³³ Another name of Ho Po—the River-God.

³⁴ Feng Yi took shelter under the river, *see* Huai Nan Tzu 11/9a.

³⁵ Nü Kwa is said to have invented Chinese lute. There are many legends about Nü Kwa in Chinese literature. *See* Huai Nan Tzu 6/6b, 6/9a-b, 17/4a.

³⁶ Text E.4/8 *luan* has a *chin* (metal) radical, it indicates the sound of bells hung on the imperial chariot. Whereas in both Li Shan (WH 7.11a) and Liu Ch'en (WH 10.20a) it has a *niao* (bird) radical, which may mean a kind of bird (pheasant?). I have taken it to mean the tinkling sound resembling the tune of this bird caused by the jades hanging on the chariot.

³⁷ Liu Ch'en (WH 10.20a) comments that Hsi Wang Mu came to meet Emperor Han Wu Ti on the 7th day of the 7th moon by riding on the carriage of clouds.

³⁸ Chuang Tzu said: *T'ien Tao chih yü Jen Tao hsiang fa yüan ai*, 'The Way of Heaven and the Way of Man are far apart'. *See* J. R. Hightower, *H.J.A.S.*, Vol. 17, p. 199.

³⁹ Text F.1/13 *Shen*, 'soul'. Liu Ch'en (WH 10.21a) writes *Hsin*, 'heart'.

⁴⁰ Text F.3/9-14 *Yeh keng keng erh pu mei*; Cf. Shih Ching: *Keng keng pu mei* (26/1).

⁴¹ Towards Tung Fan—the eastern feudatory state.

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AN INSCRIBED SILVER COIN FROM KAUSĀMBI

By A. K. BHATTACHARYYA

The coins from Kausāmbi present a variety of symbols and inscriptions from which a number of new names of kings are known. Many of the Kausāmbi coins, as is generally known, have also the so-called Ujjain symbol on the reverse. The Ujjain symbol generally consists of four circles, each pair on the opposite sides being joined by a straight shaft and placed at right angles to each other. Some of the circles of the Ujjain symbol are blank and some of them have a peculiar sort of crosses with a little bend at the ends so that they look like a variety of the *swastika*. The interspaces between the circles sometimes are left blank and sometimes are occupied by a taurine symbol. On the obverse, the circular incuse in the centre is occupied by various symbols and inscriptions. The 'tree in railing' represents the usual device on the obverse, though a few other symbols are also known.

Metal of these coins as also of those of Avanti is copper. The coins of Avanti which are also sometimes found from the Kausāmbi area are known to bear human figures, or the figure of some animals, specially the bull, or even rhinoceros or the elephant.

In the collection of the late B. M. Vyas of Allahabad there is a coin said to have been found at Kausāmbi, which shows a combination of a few of these symbols. The die-cast coin in silver bears in a circular incuse on the obverse a figure of a lion couchant with its tail raised up, facing left with a kind of *swastika* symbol in front and with inscriptions along the margin on top giving the name of the king in Brāhmī script of the third-second century B.C. The lion with manes resembles the Mauryan lion, with its prominent nose and ears. The animal sits straight up almost like the Pillar capital of Aśoka. The inscription reads from left: [Śrī] Raño Sa-Su ?]rase[nasa]. The reverse shows four circles with the shafts joining each opposite pair crossed at right angles. The interspace between the circles is filled with taurine symbols and the circles are filled with a variety of *swastika*, i.e. crossed bars with bent ends.

As the inscription shows, the coin belongs to a king called Surasena. No coin of the Avanti series is known so far with the name of the issuing king, whereas the Kausāmbi coins do not show any king with a surname 'Sena'. It appears, therefore, that the present coin is the issue of one Surasena who probably ruled at Kausāmbi but who is not so far known to history from any other source.

Obverse

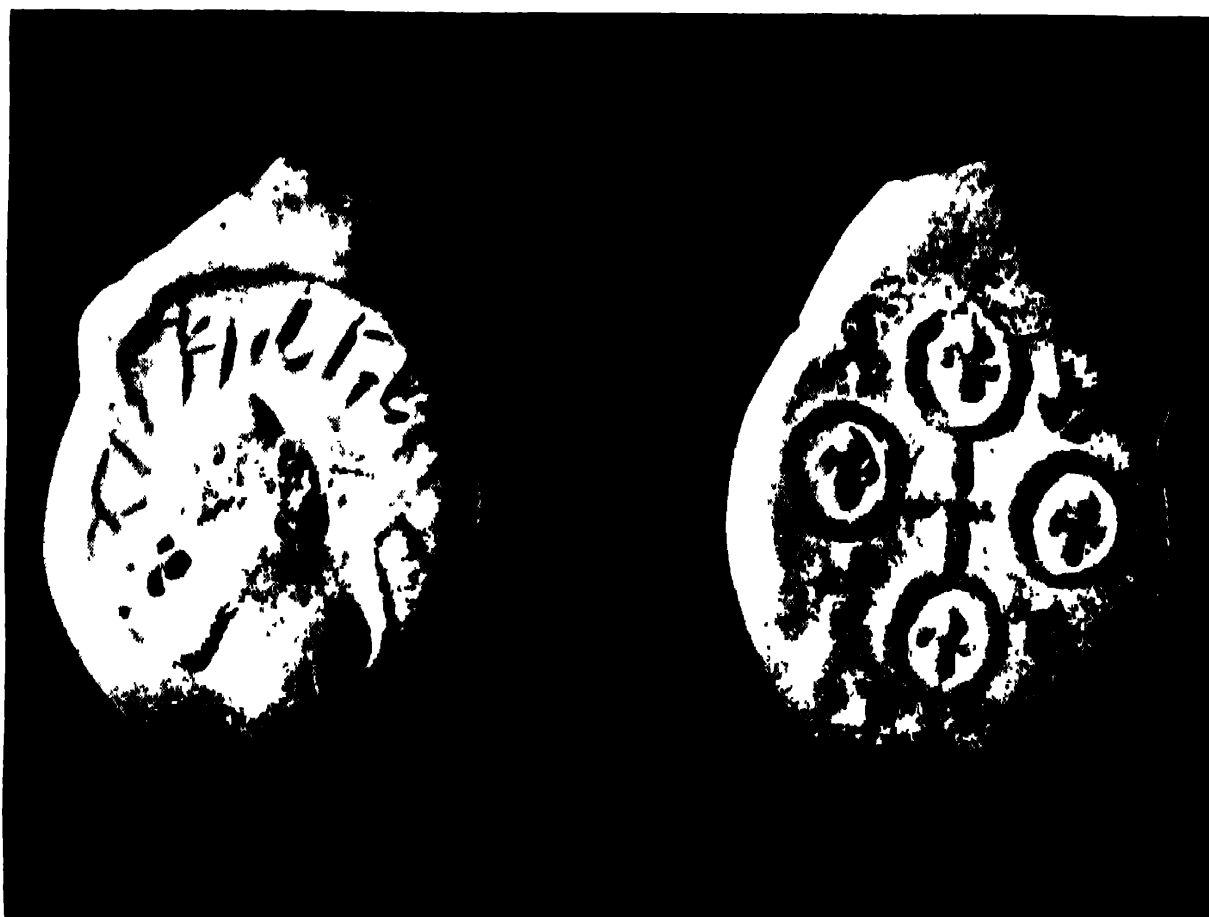
In circular incuse, lion couchant to left, maned and with tail raised up. In front a variety of *swastika*. Legends along margin from left: [Śrī] Raño Sa[Su?]rase-[nasa].

Reverse

Four circles, joined in each opposite pair by bars crossing at right angles. In the circles a variety of *swastika*; in interspaces between the circles, taurine symbols.

Weight : 12.25 gms.

Size : 2.7 cm. (long side)
2.4 cm. (broad side)



The Ujjain copper coin.

ON THE DESCRIPTION OF TWO NEW SPIDERS OF THE FAMILY
THOMISIDAE (ARACHNIDA: ARANEAE) FROM INDIA

By B. D. BASU

INTRODUCTION

Since the findings of the Thomisid spiders in Indian sub-continent by Doleschall (1857), a further investigation on this group has been made by Blackwall (1864), Stoliczka (1869) and Cambridge (1885). But Pocock (1900) in his compilation of the Arachnida volume of the *Fauna of British India* has made no reference to this family. Study on this group has been also undertaken by Simon (1892, 1906), Sherrifs (1929) and Dyal (1935). Recently Tikader (1960a, 1960b, 1962a, 1962b, 1962c) has paid much attention towards this group of Indian spiders.

The present communication deals with the study of two new Thomisid spiders and are described hereunder.

SYSTEMATIC ACCOUNT

Xysticus hindusthanicus sp. nov.

Female

Cephalothorax.—As long as wide, spined, brown in colour; three light brown areas along the posterior median eyes extending well below the thorax; the mid region of the cephalothoracic base reddish. Clypeus median with eight strong spines all directed forward. Eyes rounded, ringed with whitish tubercles. Ocular quad as long as wide, lateral eyes larger; posterior median eyes larger than the anterior median eyes. Legs black excepting the metatarsi and tarsi, hairy and spined. Tibiae I and II with three ventral spines; metatarsi I and II with five dorsal spines.

Measurement.—2 mm. long and 1.9 mm. wide.

Abdomen.—Projecting over the base of the cephalothorax in front, oval, dorsum spined and deep brown in colour excepting the anterior part which is whitish (Fig. 1a). Epigyne as in Fig. 1b.

Measurement.—1.9 mm. long.

Holotype.—One female in spirit (material examined).

Type-locality.—Modern colony, Dum Dum (four miles away from Calcutta), Calcutta 28.

Coll.—B. D. Basu. Date of collection 10th May, 1962.

Remark.—This species is related to *Xysticus minutus* but differs from it in having three light brown lines, a reddish area, clypeus with eight spines all directed forward, posterior median eyes larger than the anterior median eyes, legs black, and the anterior part of the abdomen whitish.

Thomisus beautifularis sp. nov.

Female

Cephalothorax.—High, oval, wider than long, faintly yellowish in colour. The area just below the ocular region slightly curved. Ocular area light brown in front and whitish behind. Eyes black. Posterior median eyes slightly larger than the others. Clypeus moderate more or

less trapezoidal and granulated. Legs long and stout. Legs I and II longer than legs III and IV. Metatarsus I with five pairs of spines and with a faint brown area occurring in between the spines two to four and

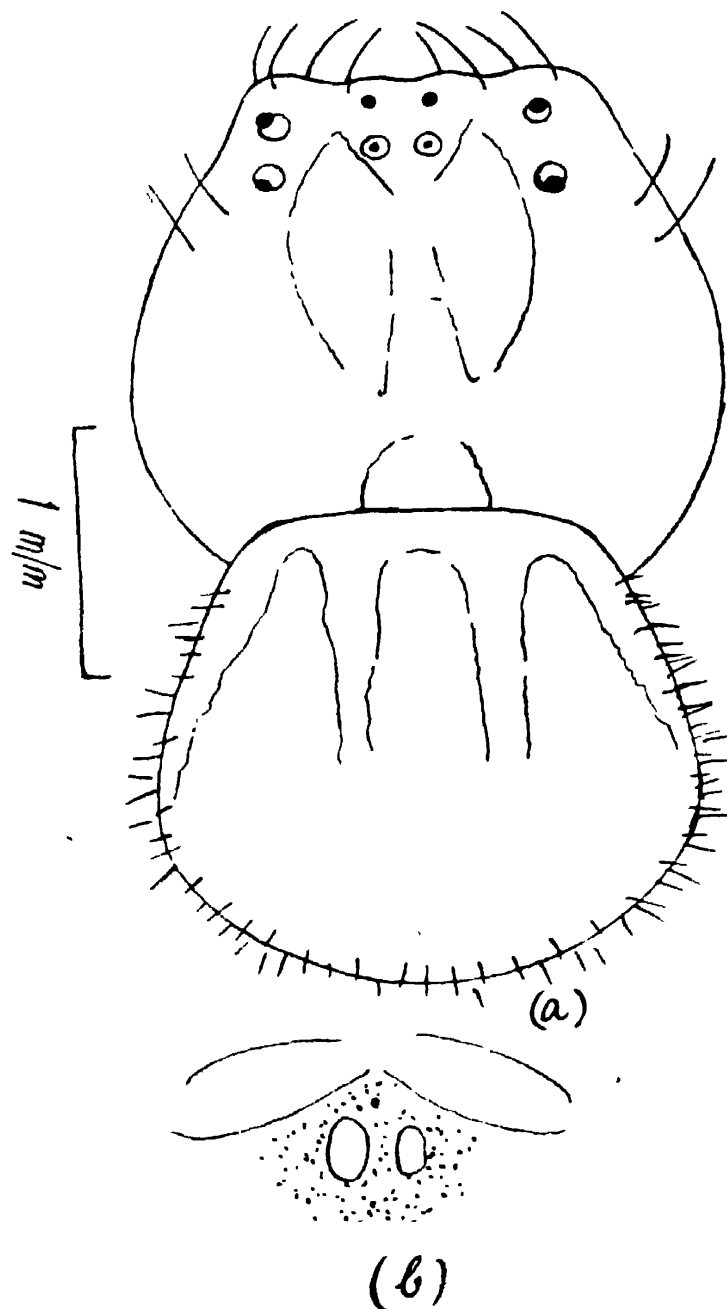


FIG. 1. *Xysticus hindusthanicus* sp. nov.: (a) dorsum of female, (b) epigyne.

with a minute yellow spot on the tibia and metatarsal joint. Tibia I with three spines, arising from a greyish area; a yellow spot at the base of the metatarsus I and a yellow spot in the frontal region adjacent with the metatarsal joint. Patella I with a yellow spot in front. Femur I with a spine and a yellow spot just below the tibial joint. Tarsus I ending in two claws (Fig. 2b). Metatarsus II with five pairs of spines. Tibia II with a minute yellow spot at the base and a single spine in the middle. Legs III and IV without any spine and spot. Sternum oval, yellow in colour.

Measurement.—3.5 mm. long, 4.3 mm. wide.

Abdomen.—Pentagonal, projecting over the base of the cephalothorax in front, broadest just below the middle, faintly tuberculating laterally and with deep brown transverse area at the broadest region. This region with a brown transverse band faintly developed at the middle and well prominent latered. The upper, lateral and sub-lateral parts marked with mauve colouration and beset with white glossy tubercles varying in size (Fig. 2a). Six colourless annular markings, four on the anterior and four on the posterior region well developed. Posterior part with prominent muscular corrugations. Epigyne as in Fig. 2c.

Measurement.—5.8 mm. long.

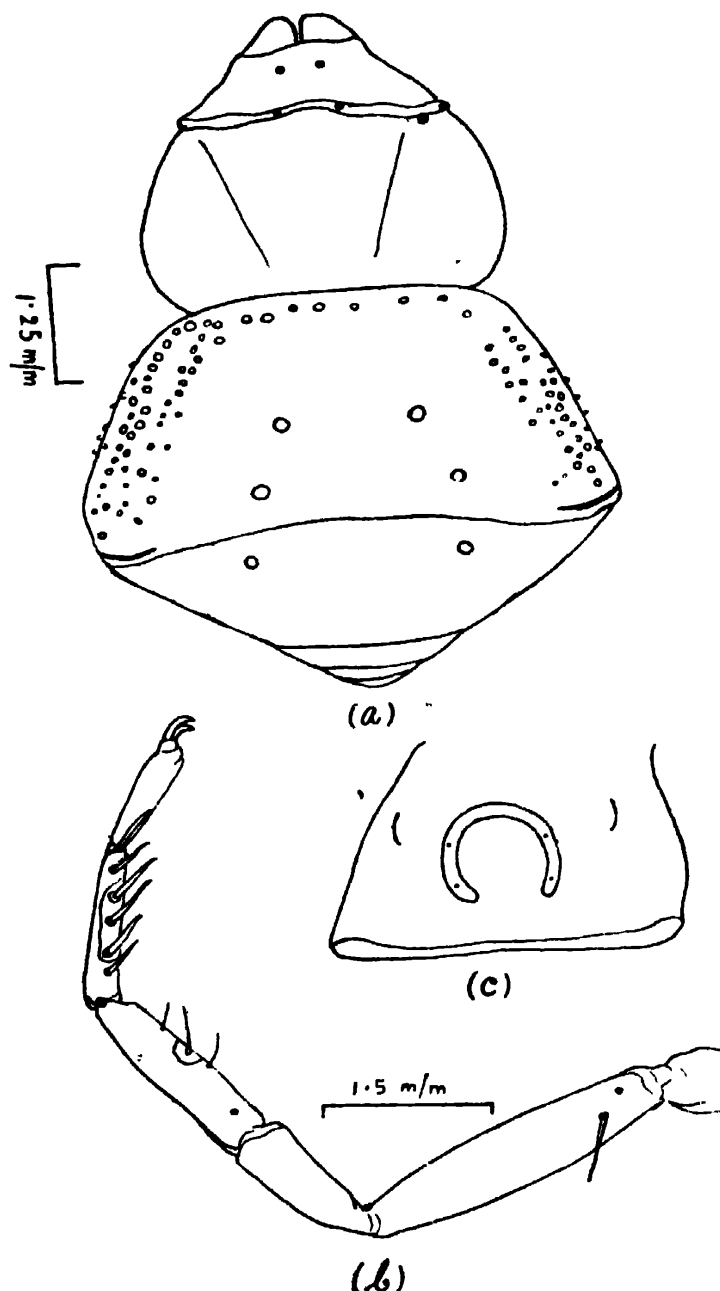


FIG. 2. *Thomisus beautifularis* sp. nov.: (a) dorsum of female, (b) first leg of female, (c) epigyne.

Holotype.—One female in spirit ; *paratype*, one female in spirit (material examined).

Type-locality.—Tulshimanjuri, private road, Dum Dum (three miles away from Calcutta), Calcutta 28.

Coll.—B. D. Basu. Date of collection 5th September, 1962.

Remark.—This species resembles *Thomisus tuberosus* but differs from it in having the transverse band, brown and curved and without punctures, coloured hue or marks in the abdomen, cephalothorax not glossy and legs totally differ.

SUMMARY

Two new spiders (Arachnida : Araneae) *Thomisus beautifularis* and *Nysticus hindusthanicus* belonging to the family Thomisidae are described here.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The author wishes to express his deep gratitude to his teacher, Dr. D. N. Ganguly, Zoology Department, Calcutta University, for the guidance and to Sri A. Guha for his helpful co-operation.

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THE PALLAVA NĀYAKAS OF KŌRTĀMPET

By M. AROKIASWAMI

The history of South India from the decline of the Cōlas to the rise of Vijayanagar is still a period with many gaps. From the time of the weak ruler Rājarāja III, many feudatories and independent rulers rose in South India, the origin of many of whom is not clear. Among these, the Seṅgenis or Śambuvarāyas and the Kāḍavarāyas are very important. The Śambuvarāyas of Śēndamaṅgalam are a very ancient line of chieftains whose origin has not been fully studied. But, from the frequent fights between the Śambuvarāyas and the Kāḍavarāyas it would appear *prima facie* that they did not belong to the same house. They were, on the other hand, always inimical to each other. Positively, we find the Kāḍavas always opposed to the Cōlas while the Śambuvarāyas are supporters of them. Cōla inscriptions from the time of Kulōttuṅga I are also clear on the point that the Śambuvarāyas were supporters of the Cōlas and were also possibly related to them. Kāḍava inscriptions distinctly call the Kāḍavas as Pallavas. Their Virudāchalam inscription,¹ for example, gives a genealogy of eight generations of the family beginning from Valandānar to Aḷagiya Śīyan Kōpperuṅjiṅga, and it mentions, after Viraśēkhara, Aḷagiya Pallavan Śīyan Sādhuperumāl, whose son is mentioned as Aḷagiya Śīyan Kōpperuṅjiṅgan, the person who imprisoned Rājarāja III at Śēndamaṅgalam in A.D. 1230.

II

The political situation of the period of Rājarāja III in Cōla history marks in some way the nadir of the Cōla fortunes and the rise of the Pāṇḍyas fighting the Cōlas under their victorious ruler Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I who ascended the throne in A.D. 1216. We find during this period many of the erstwhile feudatories of the Cōlas making common cause with the Pāṇḍyas, and the chief among them was the Kāḍava chieftain. He foiled Rājarāja's attempt to join the Hōysala forces in the region of Kāñcī, defeated the Cōla at Tellāru and imprisoned him at Śēndamaṅgalam. It was only after his defeat by the Hōysala Narasimha II at Perambalūr that he agreed to release Rājarāja III.

The history of the Kāḍavarāyas and Kōpperuṅjiṅga is again largely unwritten. If some day it would be explored, it is bound to enlighten many points of the later history of the Cōlas and, what is not suspected, the later history of the Pallavas. Did not the Cōla power under Āditya rise over the ashes of the Pallava Aparājita, who died in battle against the Cōlas in A.D. 893? Now, when the tide turned against the Cōlas, we naturally find the Pallavas allying themselves against the Cōlas with the Pāṇḍyas, which was just the reverse of what had happened at Sripurambiyam about A.D. 880.

Thus it would appear that history repeated itself here, though in a different form, giving the lie to the oft-held notion that the Pallava power died with the death of Aparājita. As it was, the Pallava power continued for many more centuries. The inscriptions of the Kāḍava chieftain

¹ A.R.S.E., No. 463 of 1921.

Kōpperuñjiṅga show that he had a long career which, though stormy, was honourable and successful. He had set himself up as an independent ruler. His records run from A.D. 1243 to 1279 and range from his native kingdom of Magara (parts of Salem and South Arcot districts) to Tanjore and Trichinopoly and further north to Draksharama and Tripurantakam. The semi-independent status of the Pallavas which they had long enjoyed can be inferred, for example, from the Tamil classic *Vikramacōḷanula* in which reference is made to the Kāḍava chieftain coming along with the numerous feudatory chiefs of the Cōḷa king to pay his respects to Vikramacōḷa :

sēmpon pataṇajeriṇiñci seṇḷiyarkōn
kumpa kaliyanaikkāḍavanum—lines 159-60.

The lines concluding the description equate the Kāḍava with the Pallava when it says :

Vallavanum kōśalanum maghadanum māḷuvanum
villavanum kēraḷanum mīnavanum pallavanum—lines 177-78.

Earlier, where all these feudatory rulers are mentioned, there is no mention of the Pallava, but only of the Kāḍava. This only emphasizes the equation and puts it beyond doubt.

III

The range of the Kāḍavarāya records gives us the unmistakable indication that they were trying to get a foothold in the Āndhra country after the death of Kōpperuñjiṅga. The removal of the Kāḍava from the south led to his displacement by the Śambuvarāyas. Sewell notes an inscription which mentions the rule of the Seṅgeni chief Venumankonḍa Śambuvarāya in the district of South Arcot, the erstwhile kingdom of the Kāḍavas.¹ The loss of the southern territory gave further point to their plan in the Āndhra country. It must be remembered that the Pallavas in their early history knew Āndhradeśa better than the South. The part they played as Viceroys of the Āndhras and their later connections with the Viṣṇukunḍins of the valley of the Krishna must not be forgotten. Seen in this background, the rise of the Kāḍavas as the Redḍis of Koṇḍaviḍu appears quite meaningful.

M. Somasekhara Sarma in his *History of the Redḍi Kingdoms* is not sure of this and says : 'After the subversion of their power, these Pallava chiefs (of Nellore) gradually became merged in the lower Hindu strata and very soon lost their distinctive racial identity. Hence no identification is possible . . .'² While not denying the possibility of the Redḍis being Pallavas, the author thinks it improbable owing to the long time intervening between the decline of the Pallavas and the rise of the Redḍis. What we have so far said about Kōpperuñjiṅga ought to establish this apparently lost connection. Besides, the first rulers of this dynasty not only call themselves Pallavāditya but also as Pallavatrīnētra. Their copperplates bear the distinct Pallava sign of the couching bull and the inscriptions are in Sanskrit. It is understood that the Pallava chieftains had ruled over Nellore and its surroundings in the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries, making it very plausible that the founder of the Redḍi kingdom, Prōlaya Vēma, was also a Pallava. The surprise is not

¹ Sewell : *Historical Inscriptions*, pp. 185, 187, 188, 189, 190 and 192.

² M. Somasekhara Sarma, *op. cit.*, p. 59. :

that he was a Pallava but that he was called a Redḍi. It is, however, explicable from the manner of the times and the region where they had founded their rule.

Prōlaya Vēma was a Pallava. He was possibly the son of Aḷagiyavaradan and the grandson of Kōpperuñjiṅga. This can be inferred from the following considerations. After the death of Kōpperuñjiṅga in A.D. 1282 we do not hear of his family in the south. But we know that when the Kākatīyas of Warangal invaded the south, the ruler of Kāñci was Aḷagiyavaradan who suffered death at their hands in A.D. 1316. He may be taken as the son of Kōpperuñjiṅga, since chronologically he seems to succeed him. His name follows the name of the father who is called in inscriptions as Aḷagiyasēna. The fact of the declaration of independence by the Śambuvarāyas in A.D. 1317¹ immediately on the death of Aḷagiyavaradan suggests that he kept up the supremacy of the south which his father Kōpperuñjiṅga had held. The person, who went to the north after the death of Aḷagiyavaradan, was his son. He retired to Adanki² (where a ruined mud fort is still to be seen) and appeared again as the ruler of the Redḍi kingdom in A.D. 1325, eight years after the death of his father. The genealogy of the Kāḍavarāyas after Kōpperuñjiṅga would thus be as follows :

Kōpperuñjiṅga (died A.D. 1282)

Aḷagiyavaradan (A.D. 1282–1316)

Prōlayavēma (A.D. 1325–1353)³

The titles borne by the Redḍi kings can be understood only in the light of this genealogy. Such are the titles : *Appaya-Gōppaya-diśūpatta*, *Ceñcumalaisurakāra*, etc. The first clearly refers to the defeat inflicted by Kōpperuñjiṅga on the far-famed Hōysala generals, Appaya and Gōppaya. The other title Jaganobbagaṇḍa borne by the Redḍis refers to the same defeat since one of the titles of the defeated generals was *Jagudobbagaṇḍa*. The title *Pāṇḍyarāyagajakasarisimha* borne by Kōpperuñjiṅga refers to his alliance with the Pāṇḍyas as against the Hōysalas clearly referred to, for example, in his Drākshārāma inscription. There is, however, a title borne by Prōlaya Vēma which would mean 'killer of Aḷagiyavaradan'. This title, if it was true, would present a difficulty. But it appears that Prōlaya Vēma came from a family of which Aḷagiyavaradan was the head. The title must be read as *Aḷagiyavaradaśiramkontana* and not as it is wrongly read *Aḷagiyavaradanśiramkantana*. It would be correct to say, however, that no such title was borne by Prōlaya Vēma. Telugu literary works dealing with the period mention many of the titles borne by these kings, and in that list this title, which, if true, is rather significant, does not appear.

Vēma is said to have come down from Adanki, as mentioned earlier, where he must have retired after the death of his father at the hands of the Kākatīyas. Some of his titles such as *Rājaśirōmaṇi* and *Rājacūdāmaṇi* (both meaning the same thing, 'the Crest-Jewel of Kings')⁴ strongly remind one of his southern connections. Vēma assumed the title of Nāyak and established the Redḍi kingdom in A.D. 1325.⁵ Prōlaya Vēma was responsible for extending the kingdom of Koṇḍaviṭṭu so as to embrace

¹ See Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 238.

² M. Somasekhara Sarma, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

³ Vēma is said to have ruled for 12 years in one source and for 28 years in the inscriptions.

⁴ Butterworth : *Nellore Inscriptions*, p. 546.

⁵ M. Somasekhara Sarma, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

within itself the Rājamahēndraviṣaya. The growth of the Redḍis does not fall within the scope of the subject on hand. Suffice it to say that they formed a strong bulwark of the Hindus against the Muhammadans against whom Prōlaya fought many a battle, thus establishing the tradition of Vijayanagar much earlier in history. The Reddi kings defeated the Gajapatis of Kalinga and set up victory pillars in the Chilka lake. Prince Vēmana, the great saint-poet of the Āndhras, was one of the princes of the Koṇḍaviḍu family and the brother of the last king Vēma.¹

Pallava influence in Āndhradēśa during the period was very great. Besides Koṇḍaviḍu we have evidence that Virakūṭam and Kaṇḍukuru were ruled by the Pallavas. The ruler of Virakūṭam has been clearly mentioned in records as belonging to the Bharadvāja-gōtra and to the Kāḍuvettivamśa.² In so far as the Racerla chiefs of Rāmerkoṇḍa and Dēvarkoṇḍa were related to the above-named chieftains and were at the same time cousins to the chiefs of Warangal, it would appear that Pallava influence ran deep and was far-reaching. Bukka and Harihara, the founders of the Vijayanagar kingdom, themselves came from the kingdom of Warangal and were in all probability related to all these chieftaincies. Sewell, the author of the *Forgotten Empire*, tells us that when Ulugh Khān captured Warangal, Pratāparudra and his son Kṛṣṇa fled from Warangal and that Pratāparudra was a Kurumba.

It is well-known that, when Kampaṇa, the son of Bukka, made his southern expedition, it was aimed not only at the destruction of the Muslims and the Madura Sultanate but also of the Śambuvarāyas who had taken the place of the Pallavas in the Tamil country. The work *Mādurāvijayam* by Gaṅgādēvi explicitly states that Kampaṇa conquered the Śambuvarāya at Viriñjipuram. From Udayagiri, where a hill fort still survives, Kampaṇa went straight to Viriñjipuram. There a battle was fought and the Śambuvarāyas were defeated. Then they seem to have retreated to Seṅgi (modern Gingi), an ancient Pallava fort. Kampaṇa laid siege and captured it and eventually the whole of Toṇḍai-maṇḍalam. He then went back to Kāñci, the ancient seat of the Pallavas. The Reddi chieftains accompanied Kampaṇa and it was left to them to conquer the Sultanate of Madura.³ The Bāṇas mentioned in Sewell's *Historical Inscriptions* as having ruled over Madura must have been the Pallavas. Butterworth records certain inscriptions which refer to the rule of Perumāṭrāju, son of Kulaśēkhara Madana Tirumalarāju, the 'Emperor of the Three Worlds', and of Kalatirāju, son of Kulaśēkhara Kavēri,⁴ and adds in a footnote that 'the allusion here is to the Pallava dynasty'.⁵

IV

Recently, Mr. B. Joseph *alias* Balasundaram Mudaliar, a Railway Official and a Nāyaka of Kortampet in the North Arcot District, Madras State, brought to my notice a coin taken from the region of Anantāl, a village in the same district, which resembles a coin of the Vijayanagar period. Mr. K. D. Swaminathan, who has reviewed it, refers it to the reign of Devarāya II (A.D. 1422-1446) and designates the script of the legend as Nandi-Nāgarī of the fifteenth century A.D.⁶ The place from

¹ *Sunday Standard*, June 1, 1961.

² M. Somasekhara Sarma, *op. cit.*, p. 132.

³ Sewell: *Historical Inscriptions*, p. 364.

⁴ Butterworth: *Nellore Inscriptions*, I, p. 250.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 251, note.

⁶ *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Vol. XIX, pt. i, pp. 32 ff.

where the coin has been discovered also has a large inscription engraved on a huge rock embedded in the ground. The rock is locally known as Eluttupārai. Mr. Swaminathan places the inscription in the reign of Harihara II.

The identifications do not seem to be correct. The Office of the Government Epigraphist for India, which has deciphered this inscription, says that one Chinnarāmappa Nāyaka, son of Rāmappa Nāyaka who was the son of Timma Nāyaka, was given the lease rights in five villages bordering on Anantāl by the Mudaliar of Periyamadam in Tiruvannāmalai. 'The former was required to contribute specified amounts of money, paddy and other commodities annually. Other details are lost.'¹

The record reads :

4. (Piru)thivi rāciyam panni arulāninra śakapitam
satha āyirathu nānuṟru elupathirundu ithanmellsellā
ninra sātharāna
5. Pacathu pañjamiyum sōmavāramum perṟa ūthirāttathi
nacitharathu nal seyamkonda sōlamanḍalathu
6. Adayanādu kiḷparṟu annanthāl thimma
nāyaka . . diaruli (kolal)periya
rāmappanayakar puthiran sinnarāmappa
nāyakarkku immanḍala
7. annānādu thaniyūr thiruvannāmalai thānatha
(lava)ragalil mudaliār periya (mada)
thaliya(r) pon kānikkai kāniparru kāniyātcī
kiraiyam panni

The lease was made according to the inscription itself in Śaka 1472 (A.D. 1550) in the post-Kṛṣṇadēvarāya period of Vijayanagar history. *Prima facie* the coin found in this region must also belong to this time. The figure of the elephant found on the coin need not force us to the belief that it was issued in the reign of Devarāya II, as Mr. Swaminathan contends. Kṛṣṇadēvarāya himself bore the title *Gajāṅgha-gaṇḍa-bhēruṇḍa*.

The ruins of fort and the two temples, one of Śiva and the other of Āñjanēya, about Anantāl, however, indicate the existence of an old palace where a chieftain must have resided. Both the coin and the inscription referred to above were found in the precincts of this palace. The fort is situated on the banks of the Ceyyār. The walls apparently constructed with mud and stone are 260 yards in length and 160 yards in breadth. They have now crumbled, and the farmer's spade has levelled them to the ground. Portions of the walls have, however, been dug up to recover stones from the foundation. Only one side remains today as a mound.

Inside the mud fort there are two temples as referred to above. The Āñjanēyasvāmi temple is enclosed by a brick structure. The statue is about 8 feet in height and 2½ feet in width in typical Vijayanagar style. It is carved out of a single flat slab of granite. The legs, hips and hands are ornamented, which clearly shows the late age of the statue, though, in general appearance, it keeps to the Pallava form. The inverted lotus with the stalk held in the left hand of the figure reminds one of the lotus flower (in bud form) found in the motif of the early Pallavas. The figure of the serpent coiled round the left side going from the legs to the shoulder

¹ Letter No. 203-4059-3640 from the Government Epigraphist for India to Mr. B. Joseph, dated 11-10-1960. The inscription has been entered in the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy* for 1956-57 under No. 127.

is a distinctive feature of the statue. The outer frame of the statue is ornamented, the top bearing the lion symbol of the Pallavas. The tail is exquisitely done, going round the head with a hanging bell attached to it. On either side of the statue, the two Vaishnavite symbols of the *śaṅkha* (conch) and the *cakra* (disc) are displayed.

With regard to the other temple, the *sanctum* is dilapidated. It resembles an early Pallava temple without the *śikhara*. It has a small *maṇḍapam* enclosing the shrine. The main features of the *maṇḍapam* are: (1) a pillared hall, the entrance pillars being ornamentally carved with corbels and the interior pillars also similarly carved but with the lion motif; (2) the ceiling having a *nāga* and a lotus flower carved; and (3) the door frame at the entrance of the *sanctum* carved in the usual floral design typical of the Pallavas. Even an attempt has been made to introduce the Romanic touch in the carvings. All these, as will be understood, belong to the Pallava style of temple construction. The temple is built of huge granite slabs without mortar. Only the roofing is covered by a thick layer of brick and mortar. The length of the temple is approximately 40 feet, the width is 10 feet and the height 8 feet. The structure has sunk and the height has been reduced.

In the premises of the fort are ruined foundations of brick buildings. These are the remains of the palace where the Nāyakas must have lived during the tragic days of the Muslim invasion of Gingi. There is also a round stone with very fine lines running in circular form with a hole in the centre. It resembles a time-dial. Such stones are seen in the Hampi ruins of Vijayanagar. There is also a dried-up well close to the temple.

The fort has been inspected by the Superintendent of Archaeology, Southern Circle, Madras, under the instructions of the Director-General of Archaeology, New Delhi. The authorities of the French Institute of Indology, Pondicherry, have also visited the site and taken photographs of the ruins.

Here comes the crux of the problem. How did these Nāyakas or chieftains come to reside at Anantāl? Their names are not apparently known to us from any other epigraphic record. From the date of Cinna Rāmappa vouchsafed by the stone inscription on the Eluttupārai, the date of the first in the genealogy would fall round A.D. 1525:

Timma Nāyaka (A.D. 1525)

Rāmappa Nāyaka (A.D. 1525–50)

Cinna Rāmappa Nāyaka (A.D. 1550)

The Portuguese chronicler Nuñiz tells us that, when Kṛṣṇadēvarāya discovered the plot of Śāḷuva Timma against his son, he cast him and his entire family into prison. But, says the chronicler, one of Timma's sons escaped; whereupon the king put out the eyes of the remaining prisoners.¹ This person who escaped is stated to have escaped into a wooded jungle surrounded by hills far from Vijayanagar. It would appear that Timma Nāyaka mentioned in the Anantāl inscription is Śāḷuva Timma himself. Now, he who had escaped into the jungle was Rāmappa Nāyaka of Anantāl. The date assigned for the plot (A.D. 1524–25) is in agreement with the date of the inscription which is placed in A.D. 1550, because the donor in the record is the grandson of Timma Nāyaka or Śāḷuva Timma.

¹ See the Chronicle of Nuñiz translated at the end of Sewell's *Forgotten Empire*. See also K. A. N. Sastri: *History of South India*, p. 272.

Śāluva Timma belonged to the Redḍi family of Koṇḍaviḍu. This, however, needs elucidation. An inscription¹ from the Ongole Taluk of the Guntur district, dated Śaka 1404 (A.D. 1482), states that a grant was revived by one Timma Redḍi, son of Sarvapalli Timma Redḍi entitled *Hindurāvu Suratrāṇa*. We also know that, in spite of the achievements of Sarvapalli, Koṇḍaviḍu was captured by Ahmad Shāh Bahmanī in A.D. 1427.² Thus the probable dates of the father and the son would be—

Sarpapalli Timma (A.D. 1425–75)

Timma Redḍi (A.D. 1475–1525)

taking into account the conquest of Ahmad Shāh and the date of the revival of the grant by Timma Redḍi. This Timma Redḍi is the same as Śāluva Timma, Prime Minister of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya.

Dr. Venkataramanayya in his *Third Dynasty of Vijayanagara* says that Kṛṣṇadēvarāya conferred the governorship of the province of Koṇḍaviḍu on his minister Śāluva Timma in A.D. 1514 though he left one of his brothers to govern the Province as his Deputy.³ Butterworth notes an inscription which records: 'The King Peṇḍu of the important village of Nanneru situated on the banks of the Gundi (Guṇḍalakama river), who is the elder brother of King Pedu Kema (Timma became King Vedandu) This member of the Vallava or Pallava *gōtra* had the Lord of the monkey tribe (Hanumān) as the emblem on the royal flags and extended his kingdom and reigned there.'⁴ This seems to refer to Śāluva Timma's appointment of his brother to rule over Koṇḍaviḍu and is in support of Dr. Venkataramanayya's statement. The Koṇḍaviḍu fort is a very large, ancient fort situated on the hills, with huge granite walls, the stones of which are made to stand without the aid of brick or mortar. The fort walls run from the foot of the hills with huge battlements and a moat surrounds it with an ancient Pallava temple within its premises.

The second point arising from this discussion is the title *Hindurāvu Suratrāṇa* borne by Sarvapalli. It must really belong to Gazrāvu Tippa who is said to have defeated the Sulṭān in A.D. 1398. Sarvapalli was defeated by the Muslims; he did not conquer them. Besides, chronologically considered, this Gazrāvu must be the father of Sarvapalli Timma. Thus the genealogy would be—

Gazrāvu Tippa (A.D. 1398–1425)

Sarpapalli Timma (A.D. 1425–75)

Timma (Śāluva Timma)⁵ (A.D. 1475–1525)

Gazrāvu Tippa is mentioned as the General of King Kumāragiri of Koṇḍaviḍu.⁶ But, in the period of Sarvapalli, the old Koṇḍaviḍu house

¹ Butterworth, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 951–52.

² Sewell: *Historical Inscriptions*, p. 395. Some writers give the date as A.D. 1420.

³ Venkataramanayya: *Third Dynasty of Vijayanagara*, p. 153.

⁴ Butterworth, *op. cit.*, Inscription No. 93.

⁵ In Sewell's genealogy, Tippa is mentioned as one of the members of the Koṇḍaviḍu family. Inscriptions in Tirupati Devasthānam would assign A.D. 1536 as the last date of Śāluva Timma on the ground that a donation by Śāluva Timmana Daṇḍanātha was made on that date. This may refer to our Timma or someone else. In any case, it is not material to our point. But the argument from such donative records that Śāluva Timma continued as Prime Minister of Acyutarāya disbelieving the account of Nuñiz about the plot is going too far, especially when we are confronted with the contemporary, foreign and eye-witness account as that of Nuñiz.

⁶ Sewell: *Forgotten Empire*, p. 385.

came to an end and yielded place to another line of Koṇḍaviḍu Reddis begun by Gazrāvu Tippa. Butterworth's inscription quoted above is clear on this point and the above genealogy must be taken as the genealogy of this new family. The Anantāl record, in my opinion, continues it up to A.D. 1550.

Members of the family of Śāḷuva Timma must have belonged, therefore, to the family of the Kāḍavarāyas of the south. In Dr. T. V. Mahalingam's *South Indian Polity* (p. 113), we find that 'Śāḷuva Timma, the Prime Minister of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya, bore the title of Kāḍavar'. The Kāḍavars had for long held the region of North Arcot District before they yielded the region to the Śambuvarāyas. During Kampana's expedition in the south, the Reddis made common cause with him to retrieve the possession of the region. It is thus reasonable to think that Timma's son now retired to this place. In the circumstances in which he was placed, it was prudent for him to have gone far from Vijayanagar and hidden himself in the jungles of the Tiruvannāmalai region. The traveller from Tiruvannāmalai to Coṅgam would easily discover the aptness of a place like Anantāl to serve as a place for hiding.

The stone inscription dated A.D. 1550 marks the period of Sadāśiva as the ruler of Vijayanagar (1542-76)—a period of political weakness and confusion rendered worse by the interference of Rāmarāya who kept Sadāśiva under his control and began to rule the empire in his own way. Such unauthorized rule beginning from the death of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya and certainly from the accession of Acyuta brought in its train the hatred of the nobles at home and the insubordination of those outside, particularly in the south. At first Rāmarāya himself led an expedition to the south but returned with indefinite success.¹ Even the second attempt made through his cousin Cinna Timma was not a complete success. Candragiri was first wrested from the rebels but, instead of going down directly into the modern district of North Arcot, he entered into the Cōḷa country, going down as far as Nagore and then Travancore where Inquitribrim was on the throne. 'Cinna Timma worshipped at the shrine of Padmanābha at Trivandrum, set up a pillar of victory at Cape Comorin and returned to the capital.'² The control of Vijayanagar over the southern region stopped there and did not go further; for, on the return of Cinna Timma to the capital, the fight with the Muslims of the Deccan, beginning with Ibrahim Adil Shāh's invasion of Vijayanagar, claimed the attention of all in the kingdom.

It was during this period that the inscription of Eḷuttupārai was written and the coin of Anantāl must have been issued. Dr. T. V. Mahalingam came to the conclusion, when I showed him the coin, that it must have been issued during the reign of Sadāśiva judging from the script of the coin.

Going back to the temple of Āñjanēyasvāmi at Anantāl, we can well understand now why Hanumān was installed and worshipped here (Plate III). The monkey-god was the family deity of Timma (the name *Timma* itself meaning 'monkey' in Telugu). It is but understandable that his descendants set up Hanumān's figure in the huge size in which it is found at Anantāl today. Nor was it uncommon for the Reddis to have the figure of Hanumān on the royal flag. An earlier ruler of this dynasty, king Peṇḍu of Nannēru, as mentioned earlier, had the Hanumān symbol on his flag.

¹ K. A. N. Sastri, *op. cit.*, p. 275.

² *Ibid.*, p. 279.

The Anantāl inscription refers, as shown above, to three rulers—Timma, Rāmappa, and Cinna Rāmappa, who flourished about the year A.D. 1614–17. There was then a great civil war in the Vijayanagar empire. It was a war of succession and the centre of the rebellion was Vellore. In the fight that ensued, one Sellappa Nāyaka played a prominent part. Father Heras calls him a Cōla chieftain in his book on the Araviḍu Dynasty. It would appear now that he was none else but the son of Cinna Rāmappa.¹ Sellappa was succeeded by his son Varadappa who is said to have played an important part in the affairs of Gingi.² Thus the genealogy of the Anantāl chieftains will be as follows :

Timma Nāyaka (A.D. 1525)

Rāmappa Nāyaka (A.D. 1525–50)

Cinna Rāmappa Nāyaka (A.D. 1550–1600)

Sellappa Nāyaka (A.D. 1600–25)

Varadappa Nāyaka ³ (A.D. 1625–40)

VI

Thus came the Pallava dynasty to be re-established at Anantāl in the first half of the sixteenth century. The inscription in Butterworth's collections quoted above indeed calls an ancestor of this family as a 'member of the Valava or Pallava *gōtra*'. The dilapidated *maṇṭapa* of the place still bears the beautiful figure of the serpent covering the entire roof-length, reminding one of the early Nāga-Pallava connections. Soon they became feudatories of the Gingi Nāyakas. In A.D. 1640, the Sulṭān of Gōlkoṇḍa captured Gingi and the Pindaris followed the Muslim army in its wake and looted the surrounding country. Anantāl seems to have come naturally within the region of depredation; for the story is told by certain families living in the village of Kortāmpet (Kōṭṭaikāranpettai of olden days), a few miles from Anantāl, that they are the descendants of the Pallavas of Anantāl. The version of these people is as follows :

'Our forefathers were once Poligars ruling from Anantāl fort as petty chieftains under the rulers of Gingi. One day word came to them that Gingi was being attacked by the Muhammadans and that they should immediately come to its defence. There were four brothers who were enjoying the *palayapat*. The three left, leaving behind one to take care of their families. Shortly, news came to Anantāl that all the brothers had died in battle. On hearing this, the brother, that was left behind, massacred the entire families of the Nāyakas, sparing but one pregnant woman, and then finally committed suicide. This was done to save them from the Muhammadan hands, as was wont at that time. The pregnant woman delivered a male child, in due course, of whom we are the descendants.'⁴

¹ The distance between Anantāl and Vellore is only about 40 miles.

² The distance between Gingi and Anantāl is only about 35 miles.

³ A.D. 1640 is surmised as the date of Varadappa's death with reference to the Gōlkoṇḍa invasion of that year in which all the Nāyakas of Anantāl are said to have been killed (according to tradition which will be explained later). It must be noted that C. S. Srinivasachari refers to Varadappa as a prominent Nāyaka of Gingi at about this time in his book, *Rulers of Gingi*, pp. 91–150.

⁴ This tradition is echoed in the account of the *Karnāṭadēśarajākkalcaritai* dealing with the capture of Gingi by the Muhammadans of the Deccan. It states that, in the fight that ensued between the Hindu Rājā of Gingi and the Muhammadans of the Deccan, not one within the fort escaped alive and of the king's feudatories and only those escaped death who were outside of Gingi.

This interesting story brings us to the Pallavas still living with us. I have met them and been struck by their height, robust physique and fine features. They are now Roman Catholic Christians, having been converted to the new Faith in A.D. 1710 when, according to the records kept at Pondicherry, the Jesuits converted them at Kortāmpet. The Chancellor and Notary of the Archbishop of Pondicherry-Cuddalore has been kind enough to give the English translation of the account of their conversion, as written by Adrian Launay of the Foreign Mission Society of Paris in his book, *History of the Missions in India*, Vol. I: 'Kortāmpet which was separated from Colei and became Headquarters of the district in 1676, had, as its first Christians, Paraiyahs and Vanniars and has heard the preachings of Blessed John de Britto.'

In 1711, Father Barbier, who was in charge of this Parish, baptized there a pagan, 'whose conversion', he writes, 'made me think that I was going to undergo a rude persecution. This idolater, to assure me that his conversion was sincere, had handed over to me his idol.... His relatives made much noise, but God permitted that this storm should have no evil consequences'.¹ The use of the term *Vanniars*, who had heard the preachings of Blessed John de Britto, definitely refers to the Nāyakas, the two terms being used as equivalents even today by the Tamil-speaking people. This is further emphasized by the second part of the extract in which Father Barbier in 1711 is said to have converted a pagan, whose conversion made him think that he was going to undergo a rude persecution. He must have been the descendant of the Nāyakas, of whom we have been speaking here.

The men, whom we now meet at Kortāmpet, are his descendants and they have with them documents showing the Nāyaka titles.² The village Munsiff of Anantāl, while confirming this story, also says that these were the only people in the surroundings, who claim such ancestry. These men now call themselves *Mudaliārs* and have marriage connections with *Mudaliārs* in Pondicherry, Cuddalore and Madras. A sale deed of 1902 is with me, in which the seller is described as Michael Mudaliār, son of Savarimuthu Nāicken, living in Kortāmpet. Thus we see that the original title of Nāyaka gets changed in course of time into Mudaliār (literally meaning, the first man of the village).

¹ Adrian Launay: *Historie des missions de l'Inde*, Vol. 1, Intro., p. 22.

² Document dated 16-12-1902 from Kortāmpet registering a sale deed.



Photo by the author
Mandajam pillar (front view), Anantāl

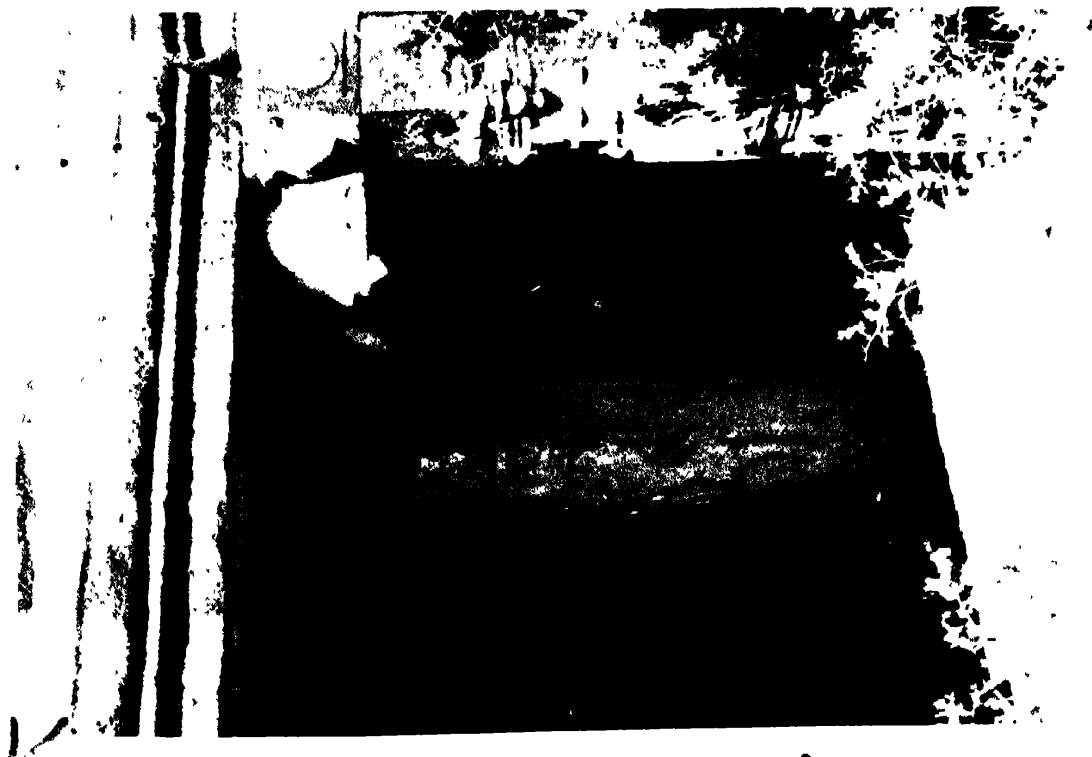


Photo by the author
Interior and outer pillars of the Mandajam pillar, Anantāl



Photo by the author

Exterior view of the *mantapam*, Anantāl





By courtesy of the Institut Français D'Indologie, Pondicherry
Hanumân, the monkey-god, in stone

NEW LIGHT ON THE GUPTA TEMPLES AT DEOGARH

By N. R. BANERJEE

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A. INTRODUCTORY

Of the two Gupta temples at Deogarh, in district Jhansi, Uttar Pradesh, called respectively the Daśāvatāra or Gupta temple and the Varāha temple, the latter is seldom mentioned: in fact, it has never figured in the list of Gupta temples. Recent observations by the author have convinced him that it is not merely a Gupta temple but is also earlier than the other one.

The former temple (called in the following pages the Viṣṇu temple) was first noticed by Captain Charles Strahan¹ as far back as 1870-71 and was later examined in detail by Alexander Cunningham² between 1874 and 1877. Cunningham obviously missed the Varāha temple situated within the later Deogarh fort on the neighbouring hill. In the absence of any conclusive clues he named the other temple simply as the Gupta temple, though he recognized correctly that it was dedicated to Viṣṇu.

In 1891, A. Füehrer³ summarized the available information on the Gupta temple. Somewhat later, in 1899, P. C. Mukherji⁴ briefly described both the temples; he observed that the Varāha temple was 'in complete ruins', thought that it was later than the other temple, which he called, for the first time, as the Daśāvatāra temple or Sāgar Mor⁵ (the local name being Sāgar Maṛh). The *District Gazetteer*,⁶ published in 1909, mentions both the temples and repeats broadly the then-known information. D. R. Sahni⁷ wrote a fresh description of the temples in 1918.

¹ Strahan, *General Report of the Topographical Survey of India*, 1870-71, Appendix A, Gwalior and Central India.

² A. Cunningham, *A.S.I. Reports*, Vol. X, pp. 104 ff.

³ *A.S.I., New Series*, Vol. II, pp. 120 ff.

⁴ P. C. Mukherji, *Report on the Antiquities in the District of Lalitpur, N.W. Provinces*, Vol. I, pp. 11-12.

⁵ It is obviously a mistake for Sāgar Maṛh, as temples are called Maṛh or Maṛhia in these parts, and it stands near a small tank, presumably called Sagar, sunk anciently into the rocky subsoil.

⁶ *District Gazetteer* (Jhansi), 1909, pp. 248-50.

⁷ D. R. Sahni, *A.P.R., Hindu and Buddhist Mons.*, for the year ending 1918, p. 8.

Lastly, M. S. Vats¹ devoted a monograph to the Gupta (Daśāvatāra) temple at Deogarh, and incidentally mentioned the Varāha temple therein only once in a passing reference.

B. THE DAŚĀVATĀRA TEMPLE

(i) Identification of the deity and the name of the temple

This temple, as stated above, was correctly recognized by Cunningham as having been dedicated to Vishṇu,² even though it contained no image in its sanctum. It was, however, Mukherji who first suggested the name of Daśāvatāra³ for the temple, apart from Sāgar Mor. The only reason given by him for the first name is that 'Daśāvatāra temple . . . is so called from the ten incarnations of Vishṇu which were originally depicted on the temple'.⁴ This was obviously a guess-work, but not a scientific reason. But the name has persisted.

That the area around Deogarh was distinguished by temples dedicated to the incarnations of Vishṇu, except perhaps of the Buddha, who was not yet included in the list, is possible. Though the Vishṇu temple is embellished with scenes from the life of Kṛishṇa, it cannot be determined if it was dedicated to this deity as an incarnation. The acquaintance of Pāṇini,⁵ dated to the fourth century B.C., with the Bhārata, i.e. *Mahābhārata*, in which Kṛishṇa plays a supernatural role as well as of the cult of Kṛishṇa and Vāsudēva. In the *Amarakoṣa*,⁶ a work of the Gupta period, Kṛishṇa is regarded as Vishṇu himself, and, as in the Kṛishṇa legend, Vasudēva is stated to be his father. Kṛishṇa should, therefore, have been held at this time in a higher position than that of a mere incarnation.

It was, therefore, quite possible for a temple dedicated to Kṛishṇa to have existed on the site at this time. The occurrence of the Varāha temple would lend credence to the conception of temples for the incarnations to have existed together at Deogarh. It may, however, be stated that though the place is replete with Jaina temples and sculptures, no sculpture nor temple dedicated to the Buddha has yet been reported. The same remark holds good for the incarnation to be Kalki.

The form of the deity enshrined in the so-called Daśāvatāra or Gupta temple⁷ is not known. It should have been nevertheless of a form of Vishṇu. The *lalāṭabimba* (Plate I), on the doorway, is of a seated Vishṇu on the coils of Śeṣha Nāga or Ananta. To his left is a two-armed figure brandishing a curved sword⁸ and to his right a four-armed standing figure with an animal face suggestive of the lion or Narasiṃha.⁹ The human figure on the opposite side in this context may be Hiranyakaśipu. This

¹ M. S. Vats, *Mem. Arch. Survey of India*, No. 70: 'The Gupta Temple at Deogarh', p. 2.

² Cunningham, *A.S.I. Reports*, Vol. X, pp. 105-6.

³ Mukherji, *Report on the Antiquities in the District of Lalitpur, N.W. Provinces*, Vol. I, p. 11.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 11; D. R. Sahni (*op. cit.*) disagreed with the nomenclature introduced by Mukherji and suggested that the temple should have been of Vishṇu.

⁵ V. S. Agarwala, *India as Known to Panini*, 1953, pp. 340, 358 ff.

⁶ Cf. 'Vishṇu = Nārāyaṇaḥ Kṛishṇa . . .', *Vāsudevo* = *sya janakaḥ*.

⁷ Vats (*op. cit.*, pp. 2-3) discussed the question and was not able to come to any definite conclusion and preferred, therefore, to call the temple as the Gupta temple after Cunningham, being, according to him, the only Gupta temple at Deogarh.

⁸ Vats (*op. cit.*, p. 12) describes him as a dwarf or *gana* with a crooked staff held up in left hand. He has indeed the features of a *gana* being comparatively short and pot-bellied. The object in his hand is more likely to be a sword than a staff.

⁹ Vats (*ibid.*, p. 12) describes him as in *añjalimudrā*. This is doubtful, because, though the right hand is drawn up near the chest, the disposition of the left is not clear. He seems to be holding an object at the chest level.

recalls a relief carved in the rock-cut cave, No. IV, at Badami¹ in district Bijapur (Mysore State). The Badami image of Vishṇu is seated on the coils of Ananta with five hoods spread over Vishṇu. He holds the *chakra* (disc) in his upper left hand and an indistinct object in the lower left. The *śaṅkha* (conch) is held in the upper right hand and the lower left is rested on the right leg. On either side of the seated figure is a Nāgī, and Garuḍa is seated against Ananta in the lower corner to the left. There are seventeen dwarfs (*ganās*) in a niche of the pedestal.

The figure at Deogarh has, however, certain obvious differences. Vishṇu at Deogarh holds the *śaṅkha* (conch) in the upper right and *chakra* (disc) in the upper left. The lower right hand is raised up in *abhaya-mudrā* and the lower left hand rests on the left thigh. While Lakshmi is seated at his extended right foot, Ananta spreads his seven hoods over him.

Banerji recognizes this as a very rare image in north India. Gopinatha Rao² describes this as *Bhogāsanamūrti*. It may be noted principally that Garuḍa is missing at Deogarh, and Lakshmi is absent at Badami.

The Gupta inscription³ at Gadhwa, district Allahabad, Uttar Pradesh, mentions a deity as *Anantasvāmin*. Though an unconventional name, the image at Badami and the *lalāṭabimba* at Deogarh possibly approximate to this conception. The two-lined Gupta inscription on one of the pillars found on the terrace and now displayed at the entrance to the sculpture-shed at Deogarh mentions the deity as *Keśava* or *Keśavapurāsvāmin* and the name of the votary as *Bhāgavata Govinda*.⁴ This has only a topical interest and points to the temple as dedicated to Vishṇu. The sculptural panels on the walls of the temple being representations of Vishṇu also point to a Vishṇu temple. The scenes depicted on the plinth comprise vignettes of the lives of Kṛishṇa, Balarāma and Kāma, all incarnations of Vishṇu, which are suggestive of the form of the deity enshrined.

If, however, the *lalāṭabimba* has to be regarded as a reliable index, the deity could not have been other than Vishṇu seated on Ananta (*Anantā-sana*) or Narasiṃha which is depicted in it. If it were dedicated to Narasiṃha, the name of Daśāvatāra as applied to the temple would be clearly a misnomer. Incidentally, it may be pointed that there is a Daśāvatāra cave at Ellora, where the deities are dedicated, contrary to the nomenclature, to Śiva and Śaivite gods. In view of the existence of the other Gupta temple at Deogarh, namely the Varāha temple, the so-called Daśāvatāra temple can perhaps be redesignated, not without a measure of justification, as the Narasiṃha temple⁵, which would, notwithstanding, be in keeping with the *Avatāra* tradition that should have suggested the name of Daśāvatāra to Mukherji.

(ii) *The evidence of a maṇḍapa before the garbha-griha*

That there was a portico or *maṇḍapa* on each side of the so-called Daśāvatāra temple was first suggested by Cunningham.⁵ He pointed out the existence of two square pillars on the terrace around the temple and

¹ R. D. Banerji, *Mem. Arch. Survey of India*, No. 25: 'Bas Reliefs of Badami', p. 36. I am grateful to my colleague, Shri R. Sengupta, for drawing my attention to this image.

² T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I, pp. 87-89, Pl. XXV.

³ J. F. Fleet, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III (Calcutta, 1886), p. 268. I am indebted to Shri A. Ghosh for drawing my attention to this point.

⁴ Vats, *Mem. Arch. Survey of India*, No. 70: 'The Gupta Temple at Deogarh', pp. 28-29, and footnotes.

⁵ Cunningham, *A.S.I. Reports*, Vol. X, pp. 105-6.

fragments of two more against the plinth, all conforming in architectural form and decorative embellishment to the pilasters flanking the shrines against the outer walls. These contrasted with sixteen more, found on the site along with traces of other temples in the area, which were round and fluted. These belonged evidently to another and later temple. The two pillars mentioned above are now displayed at the entrance to the sculpture-shed near the temple.

The idea of the portico was suggested by Cunningham obviously on the slender evidence of these square pillars and the remains of the projections of beams or architraves on each of the four sides, especially on the east, where the evidence is clear.

R. D. Banerji¹ suggested, however, the existence of a covered and colonnaded circumambulatory on all the sides. Percy Brown² supported basically the views of Cunningham and envisaged four supporting pillars on each side. But M. S. Vats,³ the latest writer on the subject, disagreed with the earlier writers and spared no pains in his endeavour to establish that there was a cantilever eave on each side, with its inner end embedded and anchored in the wall above the centre of the sides containing the sculptured panels for the purpose of protecting them from sun and rain. He was also definite that these eaves could safely extend to a width of 5 ft. and could rest without the aid of supporting pillars. He, however, did not explain the disposition of the two large pillars or the fragments of the third,⁴ which would not fit in anywhere in his architectural scheme.

The evidence of the existence of a portico supported exteriorly on two pillars in front of the doorway in the Varāha temple on the Deogarh hill seems to set the seal on the question and vindicate the earlier observation of Cunningham in regard to the portico in the other temple. The evidence of the Varāha temple will be considered in its place.

It cannot, however, be said for certain if the Gupta temple on the lower ground had a single *maṇḍapa* in front of the *garbha-griha* only, or if it was supported on two or four pillars, nor even whether there were similar *maṇḍapas* on the other three sides as well. The idea, however, of a *maṇḍapa* on all the four sides around the miniature *śikhara* shrine (Plate XIX) over the *garbha-griha* is clearly indicated in the later Kuraiya Bir temple, near Deogarh, situated two miles away on the forest road to Saipura en route to Lalitpur.

C. THE VARĀHA TEMPLE

(i) *The description of the temple and its date*

The Varāha temple (Plate II) at Deogarh is situated in the midst of a thick jungle to the south-west of the Deogarh hill within the enclosure of the fort (*Kīrti-durga*).⁵ It was already in a ruined condition in 1891, when Mukherji, the first scholar to report its existence, saw it. Measures of conservation in the past have changed the character of the plinth of the temple, reducing it in size, but clues remain to indicate its original shape and size on the basis of which the restoration of the original outlines may be attempted.

¹ R. D. Banerji, *The Age of the Imperial Guptas*, p. 146.

² P. Brown, *Indian Architecture*, I, pp. 60-61.

³ Vats, *Mem. Arch. Survey of India*, No. 70: 'The Gupta Temple at Deogarh', pp. 6-7.

⁴ Cunningham had noticed two intact pillars and fragments of two more, *op. cit.*, p. 105.

⁵ It is attributed to Kirtivarman Chandella, who ruled between *circa* A.D. 1070 and 1098.

It is built on a nearly square base (*adhishthāna*) (Fig. 1) measuring 45' 9" × 43' 0" supported on an intermediate plinth measuring 55' 9" × 45' 9" which should have formed part of the still lower remains of the *jagati* measuring 73' 0" × 45' 9". Breadthwise the *jagati* is intact, but its original length is now indeterminate.

The platform was built uniformly of 3" blocks of stone (Plate III), which varied in length from 4' 3" to 8". The extant height of the original platform from the stone-paved apron around at the ground-level is 2' 3". The present platform has been rebuilt over the extant remains up to a total height of 7' 4". But the original height of the platform, or of the parapet over it, as seen at Nachna-Kuthara¹ in district Panna, Madhya Pradesh, must have been greater than that of the *garbha-griha* by at least two courses.

The temple is oriented east-west and faces east. The superstructure has entirely disappeared. The lower platform having served as the *jagati*, the *prāsāda* of the shrine, which appears to be of the *nirāndhāra* type, stood on an *adhishthāna* consisting of three moulded courses. It rises to a height of 2' 10" above the platform.

The *adhishthāna* (Fig. 1) carries a uniform projection at the centre of each side except on the east, where the projection is broader as well as longer. Each side of the square base of the temple measures 18' 4" from corner to corner and the central projection, on the three sides, which is 10" in width measures 9' 4" in length, leaving equal lengths of 4' 6" on either side. On the east, the central projection measures 14 ft. in length, leaving recesses of 2' 4" on each side. This projection itself is broader than the other sides, being 4' 8" in width.

The face of the recessed outline of the sanctum on the entrance or eastern side is distinguished by a rampant lion at either end each grappling with a human figure (Plate IV, A and B), obviously the *sārdūla* motif, with a floral design in the centre of the moulded course.

The extant walls of the *prāsāda* enclosing the *garbha-griha* rise in three courses and the ashlar masonry blocks of which they are built correspond in length and thickness to those of the so-called Daśāvatāra temple near the village.

It cannot be said for certain if the temple had a *śikhara* or was surmounted by a square chamber above the cella as in the case of the Pārvatī temple at Nachna-Kuthara.

The presence of the bits of an *āmalaka* and a ribbed piece of cave (Plate V, A) near the temple would indeed suggest the shape of a *śikhara*-shrine. But, stylistically, it appears incongruous to connect the two, as the sculptural remains of at least two post-Gupta phases in the premises would suggest the former existence in the neighbourhood of more than one later temple.

The sanctum sanctorum measures 16' × 16' on the interior and contains the anthropomorphic image of Varāha (Plate V, B) as the deity on a pedestal in the centre.² It is not, however, exactly in the centre of either the *garbha-griha* or the original plinth (*jagati*). It may have been moved from the absolutely central position in the course of the repairs.

The group shows Vishṇu as emerging from the ocean, where the Nāga

¹ Cunningham, *A.S.I. Reports*, Vol. XXI, Pl. XXV. The feature was also examined on the spot.

² Mukherji, *Report on the Antiquities in the District of Lalitpur, N.W. Provinces*, Vol. I, p. 12. He wrote (in 1891): 'The statue of Varāha, of which the two side figures are broken, still occupies its original place in the sanctum.'

and Nāgini are reclining below in abject supplication, after the discomfiture of Hiraṇyāksha. Bhū-devī (earth) reclaimed from the clutches of the demon is poised gracefully on the left shoulder. Varāha has a plain circular halo at his back, suggestive of its early date. He wears a *vanamālā* and is attended by Śrī-devī standing to his right. There was obviously another standing figure to his left to balance the composition, but it is missing. The image is broken at the right knee and in two places at the left knee and over the left ankle respectively. Being broken it is supported at the back, in spite of its pedestal, on a recently constructed wall of coursed masonry. In its stance and gestures the image strongly recalls the Udayagiri panel of Varāha.

The frame of the doorway (Plate VI) on the east is rather unusually small, measuring 2' 6½" × 4' 6" at the edges and 1' 4½" × 3' 6" in the opening. Though its size would actually be suggestive of a window opening into the cella on the side walls, the absence of any more remains of like form and the presence of the figures of Gangā and Yamunā at the base of the jambs, though without their *vāhanas*, would deprecate such an inference.

It is further to be noted that the entire door-frame is carved out of a single slab, and is, therefore, sculptural rather than architectural. The carved designs on the jamb are floral and simple.

That the craftsmen of Deogarh, enjoying the patronage of the Gupta empire, even if the temple in question were to be only of a slightly later date, would invoke the retrograde step of installing a miniature entrance through which one has almost to wriggle with conscious effort is unimaginable. Such a step on the part of the successors of the builders of the Vishṇu temple in a land continuously thriving and humming with artistic activity is simply unthinkable, on the simple grounds of practical inconvenience, especially after the experience of erecting the large doors, as in the case of the Gupta temple near the village. Moreover, the size of the deity (5' 8") would deprecate such a step. It was the result, therefore, of comparative inexperience such as characterizes pioneering endeavours.

That there was an additional opening in the same slab above the entrance is just indicated by broken ends projecting upwards (Plate VI) above the jambs. This was meant, no doubt, to admit light into the sanctum. This feature would argue against the conception of a window.

The comparatively plain jambs and lintel, the absence of the *makara* and *kūrma vāhanas* of the river deities, the absence of *mithunas* on the jamb, as of the attendants of the river goddesses, would all point to an earlier stage in the evolution of the Gupta temples than that of the Vishṇu temple of the acceptedly Gupta period. There is no indication of any *lalāṭabimba* either. On these considerations Cunningham's suggestion of the position of the river goddesses towards the top of the jambs¹ as a sign of an early stage in the evolution of the Gupta temples does not hold good. The Pārvatī temple at Nachna-Kuthara, which is clearly earlier than the *śikhara*-shrine of the Gupta period at Deogarh, shows the position of the river goddesses at the base of the jambs (Plate VII).

The central projections of the *adhiśṭhāna* of the Varāha shrine, described above, would mark the beginnings of a *tri-ratha* temple. This feature had also made its appearance on the lower plinth of the Pārvatī temple at Nachna. It did not, however, develop fully in the stone temples of the Gupta period though its occurrence in the brick temple at Bhitargaon is significant.

¹ Cunningham, *A.S.I. Reports*, Vol. X, p. 110.

The notion of a later date for the Varāha temple was initiated by Mukherji¹ on the ground of the comparative crudeness of the sculptured panels, in which he saw signs already of the decadence of the art. The idea once mooted came to stay and sat apparently very firmly on the minds of scholars not to be easily shaken off. It is to be recalled that the tradition of art continued unabated in the area till at least the thirteenth century A.D. This is exemplified in the Jaina temples on the hill, which number, to this day, thirty-one in all. The plastic art, in spite of the rather restricted scope, which the Jaina pantheon allows, continued to be of high order. This is seen in the delicate carving of the architectural members and fine modelling of the figures. Some of the *Chakreśvari* images are the finest in the group. The *śikhara*-shrines, too, are much more evolved than the earlier Gupta temple in the valley. There is, therefore, no justification to assume the sudden onset of decadence in plastic art or architectural achievement. That some of the panels and sculptures associated with the Varāha temple appear less finished or simpler in delineation than those in the so-called Daśāvatāra temple is no sure sign of decadence or a posterior date. The argument of cruder work can with equal force be applied to a hesitant or immature artistic creation of a still earlier date. The various sculptural pieces associated with the temple are clearly of Gupta workmanship, not very far removed, in point of time, from the Vishṇu temple nearer the village as a consideration of the following will show.

The sides of the *prāsāda* are each distinguished on the exterior by a symmetrically poised sculptural panel corresponding to the panels and their disposition on the exterior of the Gupta temple in the plain below. Needless to say that they are no longer *in situ* but they rest against the extant remains of the walls.

The one standing on the south is a panel of *Gajendra-moksha* (Plates VIII and IX) showing Vishṇu seated on winged Garuḍa and dealing with the elephant below. The composition in both the cases is the same, though the figures in the Varāha temple are stiff, less curvate or graceful. Instead of being a crude imitation of the panel in the Daśāvatāra temple it can well be earlier. The panel of flying figures over the main group is evidently missing in the Varāha temple, being carved, undoubtedly, on a separate slab, which is now lost.

That resting against the western wall is the panel of Nara-Nārāyaṇa (Plates X and XI), but the details are fewer than in the Daśāvatāra temple. The position of the two main figures and their postures and gestures are identical, though more rigidly poised. The figure of Nārāyaṇa in the Varāha temple lacks the deer-skin *yajñopavīta* thrown over the left shoulder in the panel of the Daśāvatāra temple. The crowning panel as in the case of *Gajendra-moksha* is again missing.

The third panel is that of Vishṇu as *Anantaśāyin* (Plates XII and XIII) with Lakshmī at his feet, Brahmā seated on a lotus, at the centre over the reclining figure, with Śiva and Pārvatī seated on Nandī on the left of Brahmā and Indra on his Airāvata and Kārttikeya on his *mayūra* to the right of Brahmā. At his extreme left is a flying figure. The two panels are exactly identical as in the other two cases, the only difference being shown in the stiffness of the disposition, which is a common characteristic of the Varāha temple here. The demons, Madhu and Kaiṭabha,

¹ Mukherji, *Report on the Antiquities in the District of Lalitpur, N.W. Provinces*, Vol. I, p. 12. He says: 'The temple of Varāha . . . was evidently built after the type of the Daśāvatāra temple, and the poor imitation shows the degree of decadence of Hindu art.'

disturbing his *yoga-nidrā*, and their fight with the weapons of Vishṇu in anthropomorphic forms, including the female form of Gadā-devī,¹ are portrayed in a separate horizontal panel.

The workmanship of these sculptures as well as the comparative scarcity of details display a less practised skill than that of the lower temple. This would be another factor lending support to the inference, on grounds of architectural members, on its somewhat earlier chronology.

The terrace or plinth of the temple in its extant parts seems to be built of plain courses, and shows a somewhat rounded course or *kumuda* (Plate III) as the only ornamental or moulded course. The simplicity of this aspect is in general agreement with the simpler aspects of modelling noticed on the sculptures and contrasts sharply with the elaborate modelling of the Daśāvatāra temple.

The access to the top of the terrace and thence to the sanctum is gained by means of a flight of steps on the eastern side. In keeping with the width of the stairs, which are 1 ft. broad, there is a matching semi-circular stepping-stone called *chandra-śilā* (moon-stone) on the ground level. In this aspect it differs from the Daśāvatāra temple which has staircase approaches on all the four sides. The absence of the stepped passages on the other three sides in the Varāha temple would speak for an evolutionary simplicity indicative of an earlier date of construction in contrast.

The ground level around the lower plinth was clearly covered by an apron flagged with uniformly cut-stone slabs. Two such pieces are available *in situ* at the north-east corner alongside the staircase. It is further distinguished by the occurrence of a line of inscription in *saṃkhalipi* (Plate XIV), a feature which this temple shares in common with the other one, mentioned earlier, and would speak for compatibility in chronology. Two letters in shell characters occur also on the pillar, now placed alongside the entrance.

Apart from the plainness of the plinth of the Varāha temple, the obvious absence of sculptural panels on the sides of the plinth, a characteristic distinguishing the Vishṇu temple, also points to a comparative simplicity.

The fact that the latter temple is a *pañchāyatana*-shrine also raises a point in contrast and indicates a higher stage of evolution, which the shrine of Varāha does not seem to have attained.

It is also observed that a beam embellished with a frieze of lion-heads (Plates XV and XVI) has been placed vertically alongside the northern jamb of the doorway juxtaposed between the frame and the disproportionately tall pillar, also wrongly placed on the *adhishṭhāna*. Both the beam and pillar have been placed erroneously at these places obviously in the course of later conservation. The pillar (Plate XVII) is characteristically of Gupta workmanship with its square shaft with an intricately carved central lotus medallion and top, comparing well with the pillars of the other temple (Plate XVIII, A). It bears also a couple of *saṃkha* characters. Another pillar (Plate XVIII, B) shows the typical carving with *kīrtimukha*, *makara* and *ghaṭa-pallava* motifs, with a *mithuna*, of Gupta workmanship.

Incidentally, it may be pointed out that the other temple also carries a frieze of lion-heads, similar to that on the beam at the Varāha temple,

¹ Mukherji (*Report on the Antiquities in the District of Lalitpur, N.W. Provinces*, Vol. I, Pl. VIII) identifies these figures as the *Pañcha-pāṇḍavas* and Draupadī.

above the lintel of its elaborate doorway (Plate XVI). This is another point of compatibility both in time and style between the two temples.

It may be noted that flanking the staircase is yet another sculptural group at the Varāha temple, but its only remains are three pairs of feet broken at the ankle, on a pedestal, comprising a large pair, as of a male figure, in the centre, and two small and slender ones on the sides, obviously of female figures. The fragments belonged, no doubt, to a figure of Vishṇu attended on either side by a consort. The group does not seem to have been enshrined.

There are indeed a few more pieces of loose sculptures lying in the area. They are clearly not of Gupta workmanship, but are suggestive of later work. The find of the bits of an *āmalaka* and fragments of an eave stone ribbed on top, of an apparently post-Gupta phase of architectural tradition, would account for these sculptures which have been erroneously and rather incongruously placed in the course of repairs in the temple. An inscribed and sculptured slab (Plate XIX) lying amid this group, also loose, suggestive of the ceiling, gives, on the palaeographical grounds of the shape of the letters *sa* or *na*, the story away, placing it in the eleventh-twelfth centuries A.D. Yet another slab assembled at the Varāha temple is inscribed with developed numerals of a much later date. Of the other sculptured pieces two are clearly of Gupta workmanship and considered below.

Against the structural support for the main deity is seen a large figure of Vishṇu (Plate XXI) standing in *samabhaṅga* pose with an upraised right hand. It has, however, lost its emblem. The upper right hand is broken, but a portion of the grip on the *gadā* (club) is clear. The upper left is also missing, but the lower left holds a *śaṅkha* (conch). It carries a halo behind the *kirīṭa-mukuta* headgear. The benign facial expression is clearly Gupta in character.

The other loose sculptures, evidently not connected with the Varāha temple, include a seated image of Pārvatī (Plate XXII) in *sukhāsana*, holding an *akṣhamāla* and a stalk of lotus with the upper hands and a *kamaṇḍalu* (*bhriṅgāra*) with the left. The right hand is held in *varaḍāna mudrā*. This is the best preserved of the group, and was apparently placed in a niche against the wall. The piece is flanked on either side by a pilaster with the *ghata-pallava* motif. The head wears a *kirīṭa-mukuta*. It is finely executed and both in modelling and facial expression it is much more evolved than the usual standard of sculptures associable with the Varāha temple. It is obviously a piece of Chandella workmanship.

Yet another piece may have been an attendant of either of the river goddesses (Plate XXIII), as it holds a jar in both hands and is apparently in a *tribhaṅga* pose. It may as well have been Garuḍa carrying the pitcher containing *amṛita*. But the indications of the latter identification are not clear. This piece, however, is not very far removed in point of time from the Gupta style.

A couple of female figures (Plate XXIV), standing side by side, have lost their sharpness. They are clearly not of Gupta workmanship, yet not very far removed from it either. These are probably delineated on a jamb.

Another piece shows a *mithuna* (Plate XXV) but, unfortunately, most of the torso of the male and the head and hands and feet of both are broken. The artistic moorings of the piece cannot be firmly fixed in its present condition though it does indicate a Gupta influence.

A headless figure (Plate XXVI) with the right leg raised up and folded as though it is trampling upon a fallen foe is inferably of Vishṇu on the

grounds of its *śrīvatsa* mark and, particularly, the indications of the *vanamālā*. It is, however, a two-handed figure and may possibly have been that of Varāha. This piece is the most ornate of the post-Gupta sculptures and also probably the farthest removed from the Gupta tradition. It is apparently of Chandella workmanship.

The sculptures assembled at the Varāha temple would thus fall into three phases, viz. (i) Gupta, (ii) an intermediate post-Gupta, and (iii) lastly Chandella.

The difference in the sculptural forms of the earliest of this assemblage from the rest and their clear Gupta characteristics help to fix the date of the Varāha temple. If for the sake of argument all this sculptural assemblage, regardless of their divergent styles and degrees of fineness of execution, were to be attributed to the Varāha temple, the divergences would be difficult to explain, and still more difficult would it be to justify the reversion to a less refined style, both in architecture and sculpture. It would be more in the nature of wilfully putting the clock back, which is hardly convincing and would be going out of the way to seek justification for an assumed primary premise of a late date for the temple, and attendant decadence in art. The flaws of the argument have already been exposed.

In fact, the misconception appears to have arisen from the first observation of Mukherji. The completely ruined condition of the temple at the time precluded a correct estimation of its chronological moorings and the misconception has persisted. In view of its many points of contact with an earlier stage of the Gupta tradition both in architecture and modeling, the common features of the *śaṅkha* characters would put it to a date before the beginnings of the sixth century A.D. now suggested for the Vishṇu temple.¹

(ii) *The evidence of a maṇḍapa before the garbha-gṛiha as a connecting link with the Vishṇu (Gupta) temple*

The Varāha temple shows the evidence of a portico or *maṇḍapa* in front of the doorway on the upper plinth of the temple. There is a pillar fixed to the north of the entrance frame, apparently wrongly placed in the course of the repairs. There should have been another pillar of similar form, though it is now missing. The surface of the stone-paved plinth where the pillars stood is primed and suitably grooved (Plate XXVII), to seat the bases of the two tall pillars. The extant pillar is 7' 9" in length

¹ The date of the temple was first suggested by Cunningham (*A.S.I. Reports*, Vol. X, p. 110) as A.D. 600-700. This view has in recent years undergone a modification. R. D. Banerji (*The Age of the Imperial Guptas*, p. 145) would date it to about A.D. 575. The fact of the occurrence of an inscription together with a line of shell characters (cf. Y. R. Gupta and D. R. Sahni, *A.P.R., Hindu and Buddhist Mons., N.C.*, for the year ending 31st March, 1915, p. 5, and 31st March, 1918, p. 12, respectively; Vats, *Mem. Arch. Survey of India*, No. 70: 'The Gupta Temple at Deogarh', pp. 28-29) on one of the pillars referred to earlier, dated from the last quarter of the fifth century A.D. to the first quarter of the sixth (cf. Vats, *op. cit.*, footnote 6 on p. 10), is a good index of the date of the temple. Vats would date it to the early part of the sixth century A.D. (Vats, *op. cit.*, p. 31). Regardless of the rather late date assigned by Cunningham, he had rightly stressed that the temple was later than the earlier flat-roofed examples at Eran, Sanchi and Tigowa, because of its spire (*śikhara*) and the pieces of the *āmalaka*, lying in the area, that may have stood on its top (Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 110). D. R. Sahni (*A.P.R., Hindu and Buddhist Mons., N.C.*, for the year ending 31st March, 1918, p. 8) wrote that 'there is no means of ascertaining the precise date of its destruction' (i.e. Varāha temple), 'but two brief Nagari inscriptions of Samvat 1550 which came to light on the walls of the cella clearly shows that the temple must have been in use until after that date'. Sahni did not assign a definite date but brought out the similarities in design and style and sculptural panels between the two temples.

and 1' 4" wide at the base. These pillars are, therefore, shorter than the pillars of the other Gupta temple by about 2' suggesting a smaller and lower portico. The base fits perfectly into the groove on the plinth.

This feature lends support to the view of Cunningham about the existence of a *maṇḍapa* in the older Gupta temple, with the probable amendment that it existed only on the entrance side. The other sides may have had projecting eaves as suggested by Vats. The idea of a *maṇḍapa* on all four sides of the *prāsāda* is also seen in the supervening shrine on the flat-roofed *garbha-griha* of the Kuraiya Bir temple (Plate XXVIII). It also exemplifies the development of the *śukanāsā* and the *antarāla* together.

The *maṇḍapa* was thus the forerunner of the *antarāla* and *śukanāsā* or the *mahāmaṇḍapa*. This feature is seen clearly in a ninth-century Sun-temple at Umri (Plate XXIX) in district Tikamgarh, Madhya Pradesh, where stands a portico before the main entrance, supported at the outer edge on two pillars, and its flat roof is supported interiorly on the outer wall of the cella itself.

It is significant that the use of only two pillars at both the temples is indicated, discounting the fragments found in the Vishṇu temple. Thus the absence of the *śukanāsā* and the existence of a *maṇḍapa* as a prelude to the *antarāla*-cum-*śukanāsā* are yet other points of contact between the two temples and would be an additional evidence on the chronology of the Varāha temple.

(iii) *The place of the Varāha temple in the evolution of the Gupta temples in general*

From the point of view of the evolution of Gupta temples the so-called Daśāvatāra temple at Deogarh does indeed mark a culminating point. The brick temple at Bhitargaon,¹ in district Kanpur, is a class by itself and stands apart from the rest which are all stone temples. Because of its possession of a *śikhara*, it belongs obviously to a later phase. While the temples at Eran,² district Sagar, Bhumara,³ district Satna, Tigowa,⁴ district Jabalpur, and Sanchi,⁵ district Raisen, all in Madhya Pradesh, are flat-roofed, the Pārvatī temple at Nachna-Kuthara,⁶ district Panna, Madhya Pradesh, has a double roof, consisting of a flat-roofed square chamber above the *garbha-griha*, thus coming a step closer to the *śikhara*-shrine. Except the shrines at Bhumara and Nachna-Kuthara, all the others stand on their *adhishthāna*, being built directly on the surface of the earth without an intervening platform (*jagati*). All of these have commonly a *maṇḍapa* or portico in front of the *garbha-griha*, most of them resting on two and, rarely, four pillars on the outer edge. The inner side is supported by the front wall of the *prāsāda* itself. The evidence at Bhumara shows the existence of a carved door 'on each side of which there are huge gaps in the masonry showing that stones of the side walls of the *maṇḍapa* were dove-tailed at these two places'.⁷ This feature is noted till the ninth century A.D. at Umri as stated earlier.

¹ *Archaeological Survey of India Reports*, Vol. XI, pp. 40-46; *ibid.*, 1908-1909.

² Cunningham, *A.S.I. Reports*, Vol. X, pp. 82 ff.

³ *Progress Report, A.S.I.*, W. Circle, for the year ending 31st March, 1920, pp. 107-8; R. D. Banerji, *Mem. Arch. Survey of India*, 'The Śiva Temple at Bhumara'.

⁴ Cunningham, *op. cit.*, Vol. IX, p. 42.

⁵ Cunningham, *op. cit.*, Vol. X, pp. 60-62.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 96-97.

⁷ *Progress Report, A.S.I.*, W. Circle, for the year ending March, 1920, p. 107.

The doorway of each of these shrines was lavishly carved, with human and divine figures besides the river goddesses with attendants and *vāhanas*, and the lintel was marked in the centre with a *lalāṭabimba*.

As in the case of the two Deogarh temples, the pillars of the portico in the Nārasiṃha temple at Eran were not *in situ*. Cunningham describes the phenomenon, which recalls the situation at Deogarh, in the following words: 'The pillars themselves are no longer standing but their positions are clearly defined by chisel marks on the surface of the plinth.'¹

It is only in the Sanchi and Eran temples that the pillars are surmounted by a bell-shaped capital. Elsewhere the shaft is square, mostly with the *ghaṭa-pallava* motif. This motif is also seen in the pillar at the Varāha temple at Deogarh.

The Pārvatī temple at Nachna-Kuthara further distinguishes itself from the rest by its covered cloister around the sanctum.

It may also be borne in mind that while the temple at Bhumara has two additional shrines at the corners of the plinth, the Viṣṇu temple at Deogarh has four, marking an evolved *pañchāyatāna*-shrine.

From the above-mentioned considerations the temple of Varāha at Deogarh recedes further backwards and would represent a fairly early stage in the evolution of the full-fledged Gupta *śikhara*-shrine as exemplified in the Viṣṇu temple at Deogarh. While the rock-cut temple at Udayagiri, near Sanchi, provides a prototype of the later Gupta temples inspiring the pioneering efforts at Sanchi, Deogarh marks the culmination through intermediate stages in which the Pārvatī temple at Nachna, the Śiva temple at Bhumara and the Varāha temple at Deogarh have played significantly contributory roles. Thus the *maṇḍapa* in front of the sanctum is throughout almost an inseparable characteristic of the Gupta temples and the Viṣṇu temple at Deogarh could not be an exception in the matter, though the absence of direct evidence had led to diverse speculative conclusions about it. The fact of the similarity of the Varāha image at the Varāha temple to the colossal bas-relief figure on the face of the hill at Udayagiri brings the former nearer to the latter, and would add to the weight of the argument in favour of an early date for the Varāha temple at Deogarh. This would also account for the comparative crudeness of the modelling noticed at this temple. The author is, therefore, inclined to place it earlier than the Pārvatī temple at Nachna.

D. CONCLUSION

Thus it is seen that there are two Gupta temples at Deogarh, instead of one as generally known hitherto. The name of the so-called Daśāvatāra temple has been shown to be a misnomer. The dynastically labelled name is equally unsatisfactory² and vague, especially in view of the clear indications of another Gupta temple at the locality. The possibility of its being a temple dedicated to Nārasiṃha has been discussed. In view of the rarity of the *anantāsana* form of Viṣṇu it is more likely to have been a temple of Nārasiṃha, which is also in keeping with the local Daśāvatāra tradition. The existence of the Varāha temple would also plead in favour of a Nārasiṃha, as the next incarnation of Viṣṇu, who was in the Gupta period, undoubtedly, the chief deity of the ancient city of Deogarh which was, therefore, aptly called *Keśavapura* in the associated inscription. The

¹ Cunningham, *A.S.I. Reports*, Vol. X, p. 88.

² It is as vague and non-descript as the name, Birla Temple, by which the modern, temple of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa at New Delhi is popularly known.

Vishṇu temple can, therefore, be renamed with reason as the Narasimha temple. The two temples represent two phases of evolution not very far removed from each other in point of time, or style, the Varāha temple being earlier than the Narasimha temple which has been dated to the beginning of the sixth century A.D.

Both the temples had obviously a *maṇḍapa* in front of the *garbhagriha*, which was in point of architectural evolution a half-way house between the *maṇḍapa* and *antarāla-cum-śukanāsā*, and were yet to flower into the full form of the *śikhara*-shrines of later days. The point is further indicated by the intermediate examples of the Kuraiya Bir temple, near Deogarh, and the Sūrya temple at Umri in the adjoining district, which should be dated to the eighth and ninth centuries A.D. respectively.



The *lalāṭabimba*, Daśavatāra temple at Deogarh



The Varāha temple, Deogarh. A general view



A view of the plinth, Varāha temple



A. A *sūrdūla* on the plinth, Varāha temple



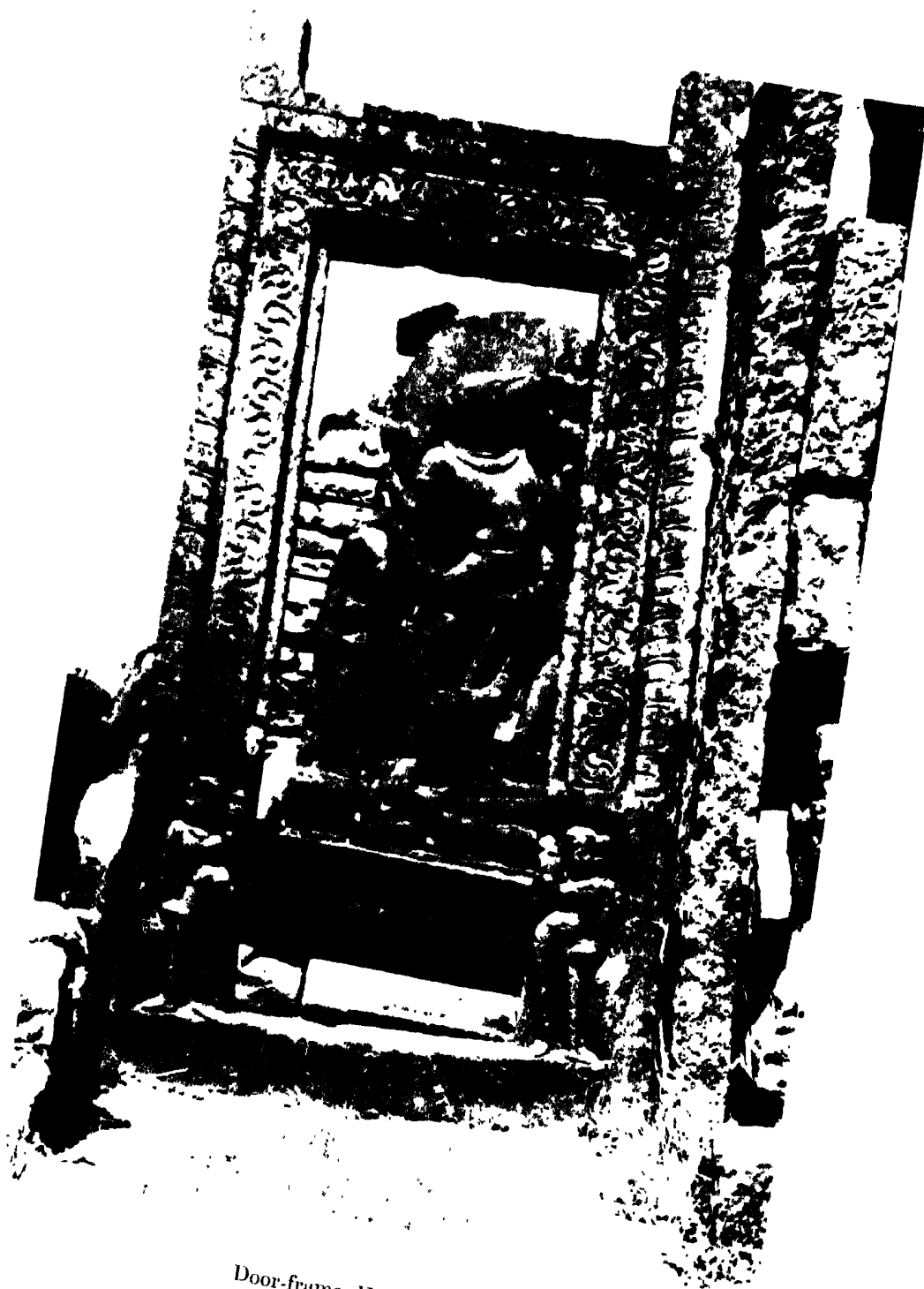
B. A *sūrdūla* on the plinth, Varāha temple



A. Fragments of *āmālakā* and eave lying near Varāha temple



B. The Varāha in the sanctum, Varāha temple



Door-frame, Varāha temple



Door-frame, Pārvatī temple, Nachra-Kuthara



Gajendra-moksha, Varāha temple



Gajendra-moksha, Daśūvatāra templo



Nara-Nārāyana, Varāha temple



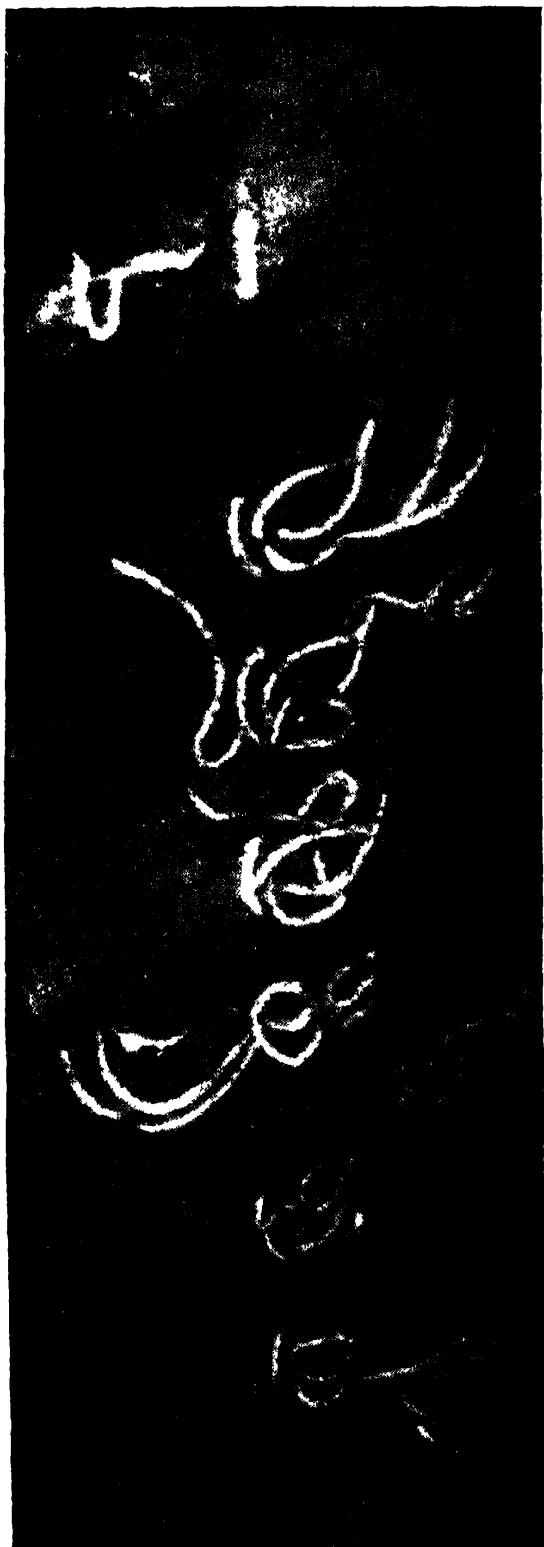
Nara-Nārāyaṇa, Daśavatāra temple



Anantaśāyīn Viṣṇu, Varāha temple



Anantaśāyin Viṣṇu, Daśavatāra temple



Inscriptions in *śaṅkhalipi* on apron slab to the proper left of the staircase, Varāha temple



A frieze of lion-heads (indicated by arrow), Varāha temple



A frieze of lion-heads, over door-frame, Daśāvatāra temple



The pillar of *mandapa*, Varāha temple



A. Details of the pillar showing shell characters
(*śaṅkhalipi*), Varāha temple



B. Sculptural pillar, Varāha temple



Sculptural slab with inscription, Varāha temple



Another slab, with numerals, Varāha temple



Vishnu, Varāha temple



Pārvatī Varāha temple



The figure carrying a jar, Varāha temple



A couple of female figures, Varāha temple



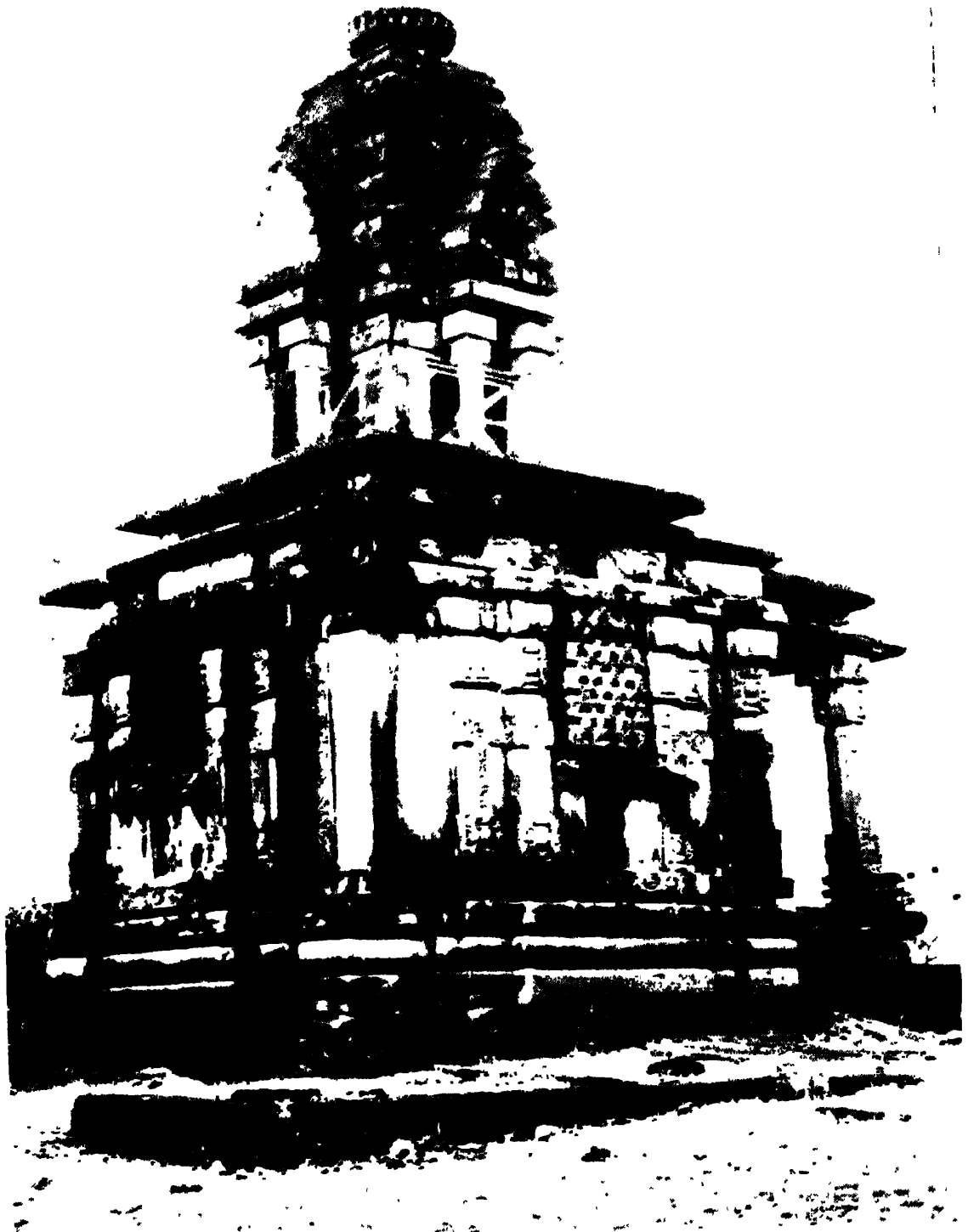
A mithuna, Varāha temple



Headless Vishnu (Varāha ?), Varāha temple



Grooved plinth to mark position of pillars in *vandapala*, Vaidha temple



The Kuraiya Bu temple, near Deogarh



The Sun-temple at Umri, district Tikamgarh

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

THE THIRTY-TWO VIDYAS. By K. Narayanaswami Aiyar. With an Introduction by Dr. V. Raghavan. Second edition, 1962. Pp. xxviii+147. Published by The Adyar Library and Research Centre, Adyar, Madras 20.

In the religion of the Hindus, as in some other great religions of the world, realization of God is regarded as the highest end of man's life. Man is born in this world to realize God as the destined end of his life. But in order to reach the divine goal of life, a man has to undergo a long course of spiritual training and discipline. He has to live a sincere religious life of ritualistic works, devout meditation and intellectual enlightenment. From the stage of *Karma* or religious works he has to pass through that of *dhyāna* and *upāsana* or meditation, and finally reach the state of perfect *jñāna* or *Vidyā*, i.e. a direct experience or realization of God.

It will appear from what has been said above that the first stage of man's religious life is *Karma*, at which he is engaged in ritualistic works and the worship of God in *pratimā* or ordinary images made of material substances, and *pratīka* or symbolic images made of forms and figures, letters and words. At the second stage he is engaged in long-continued meditations on the *Saguṇa Brahman*, which are called *upāsana*. This leads in the long run to a direct experience or realization of the *Nirguṇa Brahman* in *samādhi-yoga* or the trance of complete absorption, which is the culmination of *jñāna*. Thus *upāsana* is the link between *Karma* and *jñāna*, and is the preparation necessary for the realization of God.

By the *Vidyās*, treated in the present book, are meant the different forms of *upāsana* or meditation on God. They relate to different processes of meditation on *Saguṇa Brahman* as mentioned in and recommended by the major Upaniṣads and the Vedānta-sūtras. In the book under review thirty-two such *Vidyās* from *Gāyatrī* to *Srīman-Nyāsa* have been explained in the light of the teachings of the Vedas, Upaniṣads and Vedānta-sūtras. The *Gāyatrī-Vidyā* being the most important of all has been more fully and elaborately explained. The primary object of the *Vidyās* is to attain *Saguṇa Brahman* and to lead eventually to the *Nirguṇa*. As such their value and importance for philosophy and religion can hardly be over-estimated. But neither the old nor the modern writers on the Vedānta have shown much interest in and given adequate attention to their study. In view of this, the present publication has a real value and deserves to be widely read and appreciated.

S. C. CHATTERJEE

THE LIFE AND LETTERS OF RAJA RAMMOHAN ROY. By Sophia Dobson Collet. Third Edition, 1962. Double Demy. Pages 562+12. Edited by Dilip Kumar Biswas and Prabhat Chandra Ganguly. Published by Sadharan Brahmo Samaj.

Sophia Dobson Collet's *The Life and Letters of Raja Rammohan Roy* is by far the best book on this subject. Based on original materials, collected by her laboriously, it gives the salient features of the life and activities of this great son of India. Her dispassionate assessment of the qualities and achievements of Rammohan adds to its merit. Unfortunately,

she could not complete the writing of the book on account of ill health and assigned the task to one who performed his task equally well.

In this respect the history of this book is very interesting. It will be worth while, therefore, to recall it in brief outline here. Miss Collet had been a life-long invalid and when she found that death was likely to overtake her before she could complete the book she passed on the task to a writer of her choice. Death overtook Miss Collet in 1894 and the continuator, who looked upon it as a mandate, was able to complete the book and get it published in 1900. It appears from the continuator's note that he had never met the author, but he took the request seriously because 'it was wholly unexpected and unprepared for' and also because it came from a person who was on the threshold of death. When the book was published the continuator kept his name undisclosed, perhaps because he wanted to remain anonymous. His name was given out thirty years after by the niece of the author to be the Rev. H. Herbert Stead, a clergyman and journalist with a standing. The choice could not have been happier. As he picked up acquaintance with Rammohan's career from the materials made over to him, he developed a profound respect for him, which must have been of great assistance to him in maintaining the spirit in which the author had intended the book to be written.

A second edition of the book appeared in 1913 under the editorship of Hem Chandra Sarker of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj. It was high time that a third edition should make its appearance considering the importance of the subject. The publication of the present edition is, therefore, a welcome event.

This third edition has some new features. The text is supplemented by new footnotes on relevant pages, an exhaustive supplementary note at the end of each chapter and nine new appendices. As many as 181 pages have been devoted to this supplementary material against 381 pages which constitute the biography proper. This will give an idea of the bulk of the new material made available in this book.

These supplementary notes give useful new information picked up through subsequent research which had not been available to the author. They have been written painstakingly and with care. This is what makes the contribution of the editors valuable. They have also put in their own views where they appear to be unable to accept the views of the author or the continuator. It is open to question whether this type of comments should have found a place in the form of footnotes along with the original writing. Perhaps this is not justified by literary convention. There is no denying the fact, however, that the editing has been done commendably well, and the third edition will be prized as a fine book not only for the intrinsic merit of the text but also the new materials embodied in the notes.

HIRANMAY BANERJI

DIPLOMATIC OF SANSKRIT COPPERPLATE GRANTS. By Bahadur Chand Chhabra, Joint Director-General of Archaeology in India. National Archives of India.

In this small booklet, a reprint of an article published in *The Indian Archives* (Vol. V., No. 1) issued independently, we have an interesting study in the Science of Diplomatic as applied to copperplate grants in Sanskrit. It gives an account of different formal matters connected with these grants, e.g. substance, size, manner of engraving, nature of contents and structure

of the documents. A comparison with the instructions given in the *dharmaśāstras* in this connection¹ would have been interesting.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

TANTRA O ĀGAMA-ŚĀSTRER DIGDARŚAN. Vol. I. By Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Gopinath Kaviraj, M.A., D.Lit., Honorary Fellow, Sanskrit Seminar, Government Sanskrit College, Calcutta. Calcutta Sanskrit College Research Series No. XXV. Sanskrit College, Calcutta.

Dr. Kaviraj is an accredited scholar versed in the Tantras, though his pen is rather shy and his contributions on the subject consist of stray articles published in periodicals and other works. It is, therefore, encouraging that the great savant could be induced to prepare a book on the Tantras. The learned author has given us here a bird's-eye view of some aspects of their philosophy and literature with a passing reference to a few Tantra schools, e.g. the Kaula and the Kāpālīka. The aim of the booklet is stated to draw the attention of research students to the vast range of the subject. It is expected the next volume will deal with other interesting topics like Tantra rituals and supply incentive for the compilation of a comprehensive and critical work on the Tantras in their correct perspective to remove a long-felt want.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

A DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE OF SANSKRIT MANUSCRIPTS IN THE COLLECTIONS OF THE SANSKRIT COLLEGE. Vol. I, Part I. By Birajmohan Tarka-Vedāntatīrtha and Jagadish Chandra Tarkatīrtha. Calcutta Sanskrit College Research Series No. XX. Sanskrit College, Calcutta.

The Catalogue gives descriptive accounts of 175 manuscripts of *Nyāya* works and fragments thereof. This forms the First Part of the First Volume of a new series of catalogues to replace the old series of Sastri and Gui (Vol. I–XII, 1895–1917) with revisions and improvements of old descriptions and additions of new descriptions of later acquisitions. There is, however, no indication as to which manuscripts, if any, described in the present volume belonged to the old collection. The absence of any indication of the principle underlying the arrangement of the manuscripts is keenly felt, especially when manuscripts of the same work are found scattered in different places. Instances of carelessness and inaccurate statements are not rare. The same statement is repeated in the description of Catalogue No. 39 at p. 38, the second statement containing a gross printing mistake. The date given under Catalogue No. 163 does not appear to be correct. References sometimes given to manuscript numbers are of little use as these numbers do not occur serially.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

THE MEGHA-DŪTA OF KĀLIDĀSA. Critically edited by Sushil Kumar De, M.A., LL.B. (Calcutta), D.Lit. (London), Honorary Fellow of the Royal Asiatic Society, Professor of Sanskrit Language and Literature in the Postgraduate Research Department, Sanskrit College, Calcutta. With a General Introduction by Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, Sahitya Akademi, New Delhi.

This is the first publication in the series of editions of the works of Kālidāsa undertaken by the Sahitya Akademi, though the first to be

¹ Amareswar Thakur, *Hindu Law of Evidence* (Calcutta, 1933), pp. 200–210.

noticed in these pages (Vol. IV, 1962, p. 31) was the edition of the *Vikramorvaṣīya*. The General Introduction, which seeks to bring out the special traits of Kālidāsa's poetry and is same in both the volumes, will be, it seems, a common feature of all the volumes. This is a welcome addition to the already existing fairly good number of critical editions of the work issued during the last 150 years in different parts of India as well as the outside world. The text of the present edition is based on a critical analysis of the readings of important previous editions and of commentaries, of which some are not yet printed and are utilized here for the first time. The learned editor is of the opinion that collation of manuscripts of the same type as those already used for other editions would be of little avail, as is revealed by a test comparison of the readings of a number of manuscripts not collated before. The Introduction discusses in detail the method followed in fixing the text as well as various problems connected with it, e.g. question of recensions, interpolated verses, authenticity of readings. The select Bibliography is highly informative and useful. It gives lists of (a) important editions, (b) old adaptations, translations and paraphrases, (c) modern translations and (d) manuscripts of the text and of commentaries belonging to different collections.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

SOMALOCANA. By Dr. Kunjavihari Das, M.A., Ph.D., Viswabharati, Santiniketan. April, 1961. Price Rs.5.

Dr. Das is already well known for his field-work and doctorate thesis and other publications on Orissan folklore. He has also been appreciated as a poet as well as for his travelogue. In the volume under notice he is treading a field certainly not new to him, as most of the articles collected here had been published in periodicals from time to time.

Dr. Das's study of Oriya literature is wide. It ranges from critical notices of particular books to discussion on literary species, merits of modern poetry and also the future of modern literature. The concluding paragraph expresses discontent at the amount of finance placed at the disposal of Hindi by the Government of India to the comparative negligence of provincial or State languages; but if we can take care of our own languages, the Central Government will surely recognize the merit where it is evident. We have also to express disagreement with him when he hopes for the solution of many of our life's problems as soon as our attainment in literature is of a high standard, as education which will be the basis of such attainment will lead to the solution of many of our problems and quarrels! We suggest that it is hoping too much. It is only the infusion of a moral tone in our ways of life which can achieve such an objective.

The ignorance and consequent neglect of recent poetry is not confined to any particular state or language. But there also the votaries like pioneers in other fields have to bear the brunt.

There are many observations, however, with which one feels perfectly in agreement. The evidence of a well-read scholar is writ large everywhere. His critique of *shāsti* portrays the nineteenth-century mind. He is also alive to discern the Marxist influence in Oriya literature by the middle of the present century along with the poetry of Sachi Rout Roy of 'Boatman' fame.

This critical output from Dr. Das's hand shows the alertness of his mind and general correctness of the views which he holds, and more literary activity of this sort from his pen is awaited with interest.

P. R. SEN

EPIC SOURCES OF SANSKRIT LITERATURE. By Dr. Juthika Ghose. Calcutta Sanskrit College Research Series No. XXIII, 1963. 9½"×6". Pp. i-xxxviii+1-223.

A preface is to a book what a prologue is to a play—a usual, often agreeable, precursor. In the Preface to the present book, the author succinctly states : ‘ Transmutation of the original episodes of the *Mahābhārata* will be systematically dealt with in five chapters in Book I, and the handling of Rāma story of the *Rāmāyaṇa* will be an object of discussion in Book II consisting of three chapters’ (p. xvi). Under the able guidance of Dr. Gaurinath Sastri, Srimati Ghose has carried out her task with admirable acumen and painstaking care.

There is a striking similarity in history and development of the epics of Hesiod and Homer (900–1000 B.C.) and the epics of Vālmīki and Vyāsa. Dr. Ghose shows discernment in referring to the ‘ poetic and artistic unity of the two epics (*Iliad* and *Odyssey* of Homer) and denotes that each is the composition of some famous original genius, although interpolations in both the epics cannot be totally done away with’. Her remarks apply equally well to the Hesiodic poems, ‘ Works and Days’ and ‘ Theogony’. And these characteristics apply to the Indian epics of Vālmīki and Vyāsa. As regards these alterations, it has to be borne in mind that at a time when the ancient epic poems were handed down orally, as the most precious national properties, by professional reciters—men undoubtedly, in the earlier ages, of high genius, and quite capable of appreciating (even when they added to it) and of sustaining the *unity* of a great epic composition—there were likely to exist several more or less local versions or recensions of Vyāsa and Vālmīki, the collation and adaptation of which occupied the critical skill of the compilers and collectors at a time when all Sanskrit literature was regularly committed to writing—combination of different recensions causing occasional repetition, abruptness, and tautology. Internal evidence strongly confirms such a theory, highly probable in itself, and one that satisfactorily accounts for many phenomena in our present texts of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*.

The author wisely eschews a detailed examination of the relative chronology of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*. To enter into this question minutely, and to adduce arguments derived from a comparison of the Vālmīki and Vyāsa nomenclature, social and political, and their respective diction and language, would occupy a great space. The subject has been treated by other writers more or less adequately.

But there is one hiatus in the present work, a query left partially unanswered. Works on the entire story on episodes, legends and myths of the *Mahābhārata* as well as *kāvyas*, dramas, *campu*, *śleṣa-kāvya* and *dūta-kāvyas* based on the *Rāmāyaṇa* are analysed to show the influence of the two epics. But why this influence? The two epics contain thoughts and descriptions of a lofty and imposing character, and, for the history of the religious and cultural faiths of India, of the highest importance. These faiths descended from a remote antiquity continued and still continue to shape and mould the lives of Indians through the ages till now and the mission of the epics and epic-based Sanskrit literature was to carry on and transmit enduring Indian values through the upheavals and vicissitudes of later times. The epics are *possibly* patchworks of several scraps of antiquity—compilations rather than entirely original productions—perhaps adapted by a poet or rhapsodist called Vyāsa and Vālmīki, perhaps conjecturally attributed to either in the absence of any certain authorship, perhaps put together, arranged, altered, interpolated by successive poets

at a later period. The pure metal of the true epic age may still exist, though it has suffered alloy in passing through many crucibles in the hands of many different workmen. The whole of Sanskrit literature has drawn on and perpetuated this essentially Indian outlook broad-based on the epics and that is why they have met with such ready acceptance from succeeding generations.

A. BANERJI-SASTRI

DHARMAŚĀSTRĪYA VYAVASTHĀSAMGRAHA. Sarasvati Bhavana Granthamala, No. 85. Editor, Sri Subhadra Sarma, Librarian, Government Sarasvati Bhavana Library; Chief Editor, Pandit Kuveranath Sukla, M.A., Vyākaraṇācārya.

GARGASAMHITĀ, Volume I, Sarasvati Bhavana Granthamala, Vol. 86, Part I. Edited by Vibhutibhusana Bhattacharya.

BRĤAT-ŚABDENDUŚEKHARA BY NĀGEŚA BHATṬA. Volumes I, II and III. Sarasvati Bhavana Granthamala, Vol. 87, Parts I, II and III. Editor, Dr. Sitarama Sastri, M.A., Ph.D., Vyākaraṇācārya, Sāhityācārya, Rājāsāstraśāstrī, Sāhityaratnam, Principal, Rajasthan Sanskrit College, Varanasi.

PADAVĀKYARATNĀKARA BY GOKULANATH UPĀDHYĀYA WITH GŪPHĀRTHA-DĪPIKĀ OF YADUNĀTH MISHRA. Sarasvati Bhavana Granthamala, Vol. 88. Editor, Sri Nandinath Mishra Nyāyasāhityācārya.

All published by Varanaseya Sanskrit Vishvavidyalaya, Varanasi.

Quite a good number of old and important Sanskrit texts have been published in the Princess of Wales Sarasvati Bhavana Texts Series under the auspices of the Government of the United Provinces (known as the Uttar Pradesh in Independent India). The work has now been taken over by the newly-formed Sanskrit University of Varanasi which has renamed the series as the Sarasvati Bhavana Granthamala. We have here four works published under the new arrangement with Sri Kshetreshachandra Chattopadhyaya, Director, Research Institute, Varanaseya Sanskrit Vishvavidyalaya, Varanasi, as the General Editor. Volume 85 appears to have been ready beforehand. One notable feature of the fresh issues is the non-use of the English language in the notes as well as in the introductory portions. Instead Sanskrit is used except in the introductory note in No. 85 which is presented in Hindi. All the numbers except No. 87 hold out promises that detailed introductions will be published in the future. But there is no indication as to how and when these will be issued.

Dharmaśāstrīya Vyavasthāsamgraha is a very interesting work pertaining to the legal procedure followed in the British Law Courts in India in early nineteenth century in connection with cases concerning questions of inheritance and other matters which used to be decided according to the provisions of local laws and customs as interpreted by Indian scholars. It embodies the texts of references made by the Sadar Diwani Adalat of Calcutta and the replies given thereto by the Court Pandit during the years 1824 to 1836 regarding 263 cases. The references are in the Bengali language and the replies in Sanskrit. The edition is based on three manuscripts belonging to the Sarasvati Bhavana Library; but descriptive accounts of the manuscripts are not given. It is not known if the original records are preserved in the National Archives of India or in the Calcutta High Court. They require to be searched thoroughly for these and similar other records which throw welcome light on the social condition of the country. Some of the records

(Nos. 23, 24, 61, 120, 181), for example, deal with the status of slaves and their progeny. There are others referring to the sale of one's own wife (No. 42), widow-remarriage (Nos. 51, 52, 258), etc.

The work may serve as a companion one to the published volumes of the records in oriental languages preserved in the National Archives : Vol I, Bengali Letters (*Prācīnā Baṅgālā Patra-saṅkalana*), Calcutta University, 1942; Vol. II, Sanskrit Documents, Ganganath Jha Research Institute, Allahabad, 1951. The title, however, gives no indication of the documentary value of its contents. The justification of printing the Bengali portion of the work in the Devanagari script, viz. reaching a wider circle of readers, is far from satisfactory. The absence of a critical introduction, especially an account of the critical apparatus, is keenly felt.

The *Gargasamhitā* is a Vaiṣṇava work of the Purāṇa type describing the story of Kṛṣṇa. It does not, however, appear to have been familiar to the Vaiṣṇavas of Bengal where a vast amount of Kṛṣṇa literature was known and had developed. It is presented here in a handsome edition based on four manuscripts deposited in the Sarasvati Bhavana and an edition published by the Venkateswar Press of Bombay in 1830 Ś.E. (A.D. 1908). The first volume published here comprises the first six of the ten books (*khaṇḍas*) in which the work will be complete in the present series. Of these the first *khaṇḍa* entitled *Golokakhaṇḍa* consists of 20 chapters, the second *Vṛndāvanakhaṇḍa* of 23, the third *Girijākhaṇḍa* of 11, the fourth *Mādhuryākhaṇḍa* of 24, the fifth *Mathurākhaṇḍa* of 25 and the sixth *Dvārakākhaṇḍa* of 22. Each *khaṇḍa* which has a separate pagination concludes with a list of variants, arranged according to the chapters and verses, culled from the manuscripts and the printed edition. It may be noted that the number and arrangement of the *khaṇḍas* as found in the manuscripts in the libraries of the Asiatic Society, Ulwar State and Maharaja of Hatua (described by H. P. Shastri in his *Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, Vol. II, No. 50), do not agree with those given here. In the absence of an introduction which is deferred to the second volume very little is known about the manuscripts, especially the principles underlying the selection of readings incorporated in the edition.

The critical edition of the *Br̥hat-śabdenduśekhara*, usually known simply as *Śabdenduśekhara*, which is a comprehensive commentary on the *Siddhāntakaumudī* of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita, is a welcome contribution to grammatical studies. The author is the famous Nāgeśa or Nāgoji Bhaṭṭa, a great polymath of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries whose works included a smaller commentary on the °*Kaumudī* called the *Laghu-śabdenduśekhara*. The edited text is based on the collation of six manuscripts, the characteristic features and the mutual relations of which are discussed in the introduction. Other matters dealt with in the introduction are the relations existing between the present commentary and other grammatical works of the author, the author's time and works.

The *Padavākyaratnākara*, a work on the philosophy of Sanskrit grammar, by Gokulanāth Upādhyāya, another polymath who flourished in the latter half of the seventeenth century, is edited here with the help of four manuscripts belonging to private collections and three editions, two complete and one of a small portion, published at Conjeeveram, Varanasi and Darbhanga. It is not known how the manuscripts were utilized. Variant readings referred to as belonging to the printed text without mentioning any particular edition are occasionally noted. The commentary, a modern one, is published here for the first time from a manuscript stated to be the author's own copy.

Jl. As. Soc., Vol. V, Nos. 1 & 2, 1963.

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SECOND SERIES¹

Journal of the Buddhist Text and Anthropological Society of India

[‘The Buddhist Text Society was established in August, 1893.² Since then it had occupied itself in making researches into the religious and social literature of the ancient Indian Buddhists found in original Sanskrit works, as also in Pali, Tibetan, Burmese, Siamese, Chinese, Korean and Japanese literature.

‘Its object was to furnish materials for a history of Indo-Aryan thoughts on Buddhism as also of a history and geography of ancient India and all Buddhist countries. That it did through its Journal (in English) and Texts (in Sanskrit, Tibetan and Pali).

‘The Society had, within the short period of its existence, attracted the attention of the Oriental scholars of the West, and the work done by it had been favourably noticed by the Press both in India and in foreign countries. The Government of Bengal also had given encouragement to it. In March, 1897, its scope was enlarged by the addition of Anthropology to it.

‘The Texts, which used to be included in the Journal, were also published separately. The amount of subscription to the Journal in four parts in India, Ceylon and Burma was Rs.5, and to the Texts in four parts was Rs.4. The Journal was edited by Sarat Chandra Das.

‘The Society consisted of three classes of members, viz. :

I. Corporate Members.—They were entitled to all the publications of the Society including the Buddhist Text Series, free of charge. They paid a subscription of Rs.7 per annum (Rs.5 for the Journal and Rs.2 for the Texts).

II. Honorary Members.—They were entitled to the Journals and Texts of the Society without payment of subscription. Persons eminent for their learning in the Śāstras, in Sanskrit, Pali, Tibetan, Mongolian, Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Burmese or in Siamese literature are nominated as such.

III. Corresponding Members.—They contributed to the Journal and Texts of the Society which they got gratis.’

A few subjects, not Buddhistic, have been included in the Index (within parenthesis), because of their importance and also for making this a complete index of the Journal of Buddhist Text Society of India which ceased in 1899 after publication of the seventh volume.]

¹ This is the second instalment of contributions towards Buddhistic studies (being an index of articles in the periodicals). The first instalment was published in 1950. It was an index of the Asiatic Society’s publications.

² The first meeting was held in the Albert Hall, on Saturday, August 13, 1892. The first general meeting was held at the Dalhousie Square Institute, Calcutta, on 26th January, 1893.

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FAMILY SPIRITS AND DEITIES AMONG THE SANTALS
AND ASSOCIATED RITUALS¹

By V. K. KOCHAR

Santals² recognize various categories of supernatural beings and describe all these indiscriminately as *bongā*. The *bongās* are for the most part spiritual beings and spirits of deceased human beings. These spiritual beings are of various kinds and categories with whom the Santals maintain different degrees of affiliation and concern. *Bongās* are, on the whole, malevolent spiritual agencies who interfere in the course of human affairs when angry or hungry and who have to be appeased by sacrifices and incantations (all *bongās*, however, are not malevolent). Santals are mortally afraid of *bongās* and maintenance of amiable relationship with them through sacrifices, libations, incantations, etc., at scheduled occasions is the greatest duty of every Santal, and to worship *bongās* is perhaps the greatest cultural compulsive in Santal society.

All *bongās* are referred to by generic names although they are addressed by proper names at the time of worship. Two types of contacts are maintained with them—(i) at the occasion of fixed rituals and (ii) whenever advised by the *ojhā*³ to do so as a remedial measure to avert illness.

Santals of Kuapara⁴ are extremely reticent when asked about *bongās*. Uttering the names of the *bongās* or incantations offered to them is considered taboo and everything connected with them is charged with magical significance. They are unable to give definite descriptions of the individual characteristics of the different *bongās*, although there is clear-cut demarcation implicit in their behaviour connected with different kinds and categories of *bongās*. Their unwillingness to talk about *bongās* also stems from the fact that their knowledge in these matters, even that of priests, is very vague and uncrystallized.

The *bongās* and spirits of deceased human beings which are worshipped by different families in their family altars (*bhitri*) are described here. The spiritual counterparts of the deceased human beings who have

¹ This paper is a part of the author's larger work on social structure and religion among the Santals. I gratefully acknowledge the assistance I have received from the late Professor D. N. Majumdar, Dr. K. S. Mathur and Dr. D. K. Sen, at various stages of the work.

² Santals are one of the tribes inhabiting south-eastern Chotanagpur plateau. Santals have migrated to western districts of West Bengal, Santal Parganas of Bihar, northern hilly districts of Orissa and tea plantation areas of Assam. Santals are numerically the largest tribal group of India speaking its own tongue—Santali, which is allied to the Mundari language. Racially and culturally Santals are closely related to other Mundaric or Austric tribes of Chotanagpur.

³ *Ojhā* is the magician-cum-medicine man among the Santals. He performs divinations to find out the evil agency working behind illness, death or other malady. *Ojhā* is a sorcerer and witch-doctor. He is a professional and works on payment when his services are called for. He also performs sacrifices to *bongās* on behalf of his village or his clients.

⁴ The field work, on the basis of which this paper is prepared, was conducted intermittently during the period 1958–60 in the Santal village Kuapara and adjoining Santal villages near Santiniketan in *mauzā* Surul, *thānā* Bolpur of the Suri subdivision of the district of Birbhum, West Bengal, India. The Santals of this village, which was established about 80 years ago, have mostly migrated from the Dumka area of the Santal Parganas. For general information about the village see Kochar, 1964.

acquired legitimate *bongā* status are termed as 'spirits', and nature-spirits, or rather spiritual beings, who are assigned abodes in the family altars for regular sacrifices are termed here as 'deities'. I have described below the behaviour patterns at the occasion of fixed rituals with respect to the different categories of family spirits and deities. I have tried to infer the attributes of these spirits and deities implicit in the ritual behaviour of the Santals as observed by me and from literary evidence about Santals and cognate tribes.

As will be seen from this discussion, every category of *bongās* has clear-cut demarcation and some of the individual *bongā* are conceived to have distinct attributes. The link between the social group and the *bongā* category is boldly marked out. In the case of *ābgē-bongās* this linkage is not very evident and I have tried to hypothesize on the basis of complementary evidence from literature.¹

FAMILY SPIRITS

According to Santal belief every Santal individual becomes a *bongā* provided the funeral rites are duly performed: Those who die an unnatural death by accident or from such diseases as leprosy and those who die before their initiation rites (*chācho chhatiar*) are performed, are not accorded full mortuary rites. Those persons do not achieve full spiritual status and their ghosts hover around as *bhūt bongā*. The spirits of ancestors are called *hāpram* or *agil hāpram*. At the time of immersion of the bones of the deceased one in the Damodar river, a prayer is made to Pilchu Haram and Pilchu Budhi (the Adam and Eve of Santal myths) to take care of the departed spirit and to accept it in the rank and file of ancestors. At the final funeral feast, called *bhāndān*, held after immersion of the bones, the *Mānjhi* (headman) or the *Jog-mānjhi* (assistant headman) of the village is expected to recite the traditional myth of origin called *karam binthi*. The narration ends with brief comments about the deceased one as a representative in the line of ancestors (cf. Stephen H. Murmu, 1945).

The spirits of the ancestors and other deceased members of the family-line, collectively termed here as family spirits, are assigned abode within a sacred enclosure, within the residential hut, called *bhitri*. The *bhitri* is a small rectangular enclosure in the residential hut, two to four feet wide, made by erecting a breadthwise partition wall three to five feet high but leaving some space on one side for entrance to the enclosure (see diagram no. 1 in Kochar, 1963b). The sacrifices and libations to the family spirits and family deities (*bongās*) are offered within this enclosure on definite occasions. No daily 'worship' or libation is made within the *bhitri* and it is neither cleaned nor plastered every day. The *bhitri* is not regarded with any great sanctity like the ritual altar among the Hindus. No material emblems, marks or symbols are placed or made within the *bhitri*. The enclosure is often used as a store.

Married sisters and daughters are prohibited from entering the enclosure, though unmarried sisters and daughters and females married to the male core of the effective minimal lineage (domestic group) and of familineage may enter the *bhitri* enclosure. Generally the unmarried girls of the house clean and plaster the enclosure before and after the worship. The married-out girls of the family belong to the clan and sub-clan of their husbands and thereby have ritual relationship with a different set of family spirits and

¹ Sociological implications of this material presented here have been worked out elsewhere.

deities. It is believed that the *bongās* may accompany a married-out girl of the family to her husband's family if she enters in the *bhitri*.

The sacrifices and libations to the family spirits or spirits of the ancestors and deceased ones are expected to be made on the occasion of principal festivals of the Santals, namely, *sohrāe*, *bāhā*, *erok*, *māgh* and at *nawaē*. Worship within *bhitri* generally is performed after the village priest has performed worship at *jāher thān*.¹ In Kuapara, sacrifices and libations to family spirits are performed within *bhitri* on three occasions only, *sohrāe*, *bāhā* and *erok*. The worship of the spirits of the deceased ones is always done along with worship of other family deities (*orāk-bongās*).

The eldest male member of the familineage² acts as a priest for the family. He, however, does not observe any specific taboos, except that he does not eat anything on that day before the sacrifice is performed and must take a bath before performing rituals. On the prescribed day, the *bhitri* is cleaned and plastered. The male members of the familineage assemble at the *bhitri-orāk* (residential hut) after worship at the *jāher thān* by the village priest. The family members staying separately are expected to participate by contributing fowls, rice and rice-beer.

The ritual is performed by a single person. He makes small circles on the floor with cowdung paste, one for each spirit. A small fowl is then taken and water is touched on its head, right wing and right leg. No vermilion is used as in case of sacrifice to *bongās*. Some ordinary rice, *usnā*,³ is placed within the circle and the fowl is fed on it. The officiant chants incantations while feeding the fowl. It is significant that on all other occasions of *bongā* worship only sun-dried and unboiled rice, *ādwe*, is used. The fowl is handed over to a person sitting nearby and other fowls are then offered similarly. The fowls are then killed by striking their heads with a wooden block or by dashing them on the floor. The fowls are not beheaded with a weapon nor is their blood sprinkled on the rice placed in the circles as is the rule in the *bongā* ritual.

The incantation uttered on this occasion is:

'Tōbe bābā nok inj imām chālām kânāi. Lā hassō, boho hassō, ruā hassō alōyam sirijeū achoyā, garahau achoyā.'

(Then you, father (so and so), this I offer thee with my hand.
Stomach pain, headache, fever may not enter, may not trouble.)

The same incantation is uttered for every spirit. Two fowls are generally offered, one to the spirit of the grandfather and the other to the spirit of the father. If more fowls are available these may be offered to the father's brothers and the grandfather's brothers. In Kuapara the fowls may also be sometimes offered to the spirits of a deceased brother and son in exceptional cases.

¹ *Jāher thān* is the sacred grove where the village deities are collectively worshipped by the village priest. The deities worshipped at *jāher* have been described here as *jāher* deities or '*jāher-bongās*'—which is my coinage.

² The domestic groups which have emerged from a single family line or, in other words, whose senior male incumbents lived in the same house one or two generations ago, are described here and elsewhere by me as 'familineage'. It is coterminous with expanded family broken into a number of domestic groups. This group is so named because it has attributes of lineage and family both. The details have been worked out elsewhere.

³ Ordinary rice here refers to the grains which are boiled before husking (called *usnā*). This rice is used for cooking purposes. Another variety is *ādwe* which is husked without boiling. The latter variety is used for ritual purposes.

The heads and bodies of the sacrificed fowls are cooked with rice separately. The sacrificial meal is called '*sure dākā*'. This is first of all offered to each of the family spirits in the same order as before on a leaf plate. The same incantation is again uttered by the officiant when offering *sure dākā* to the individual spirits in the respective circles. This performance is called '*giddī-torā*' (literally, 'thrown away part' or 'set aside as unserviceable'). After *giddī-torā*, rice-beer (*hāndī*) is offered in small leaf-cups to each family spirit in the same order with the same incantation. This performance is called *chodōr* ('to pour out libation'). The *hāndī*, however, is first of all offered to Marang-buru before offering to any family spirit although the fowl and sacrificial meal is not offered to Marang-buru on this occasion in Kuapara area. The sacrificial meal and the *hāndī* may be offered to those family spirits also to whom no sacrifice was actually offered. The fowls are usually offered to a few ancestors only but *giddī-torā* and *chodōr* are performed for other family spirits as well. The spirits of father's brothers, brothers and son, or even, in some instances, the spirits of some female kin such as father's father's wife (*gorom-burī*), mother, daughter or even wife, may be offered the sacrificial meal and *hāndī*.

Inclusion of the spirits of females and of junior male kin appears to be a somewhat unusual phenomenon found in Kuapara area. In Kuapara, the patri-ancestors (*agil haprām*) beyond grandfather are seldom remembered and are not offered sacrifices. All these features of *agil haprām* worship in Kuapara are due to shrinkage in the sphere of lineage and family organization (Kochar, 1963). What was perhaps originally ancestor worship has now changed to the worship of the spirits of bilateral kin within the familineage. Shrinkage in the sphere of lineage and family organization, as commented earlier, has resulted in remodelling of the sphere of family spirits in the *bhitri* pantheon. As in case of family organization in Kuapara, there is greater emphasis upon a narrow range of patri-kin, upon female kin and upon primary relationships.

The remaining part of the sacrificial meal, *sure dākā*, is consumed by the members of the family including the female members, but the rice cooked with the heads of the fowls and *giddī-torā* (shares offered to the spirits) is consumed by the adult male members only.

Notable features of the 'worship' of the family spirits are summarized below:

1. Libation and sacrifice are made to the spirits of a definite set of deceased relatives and this sphere is coterminous with the range of familineage.
2. The sacrifice is made not only to the ancestors but to the spirits of deceased family members including, in some instances, the female members also, in Kuapara area.
3. The mode of sacrifice is in some respects different from the mode adopted usually for *bongā* 'worship'.
4. The sacrifices are performed on behalf of the whole 'house' so that every member shares the feeling of assurance granted by such an act of communication with the spirits.
5. Participation by the female members of the house is partial and indirect.
6. The sacrifice and libations are offered with a sense of fellow-feeling with the family spirits, presuming their capability and willingness to protect the 'house' from disease and distress.

ORĀK-BONGĀ

Another set of *bongās* worshipped within the *bhitri* at the time of the principal festivals are called *orāk-bongās* (house *bongās*). Every family has a separate set of *orāk-bongās*, numbering from one to three, who are believed to reside in the *bhitri* of the respective family. Each *bongā* has a different name and a definite *dāne* (the sacrificial animal or bird) of specific size, sex and colour. The names of the *orāk-bongās*, the nature of *dāne* and the incantations are kept secret. Confidential information about these is passed by the father to the eldest son before the former's death. The *orāk-bongās*, in this sense, are inherited patrilineally so that the domestic groups belonging to the same family-line are likely to have the same set of *orāk-bongās*.

The *orāk-bongās* are, therefore, not a single *bongā* but a class of *bongās* some of which are acquired by the respective families for regular worship within the *bhitri*. Each family maintains liaison with only a selected few of them. The names of most of the *orāk-bongās* refer to forests, some place, hillock or river, or sometimes to some Hindu god or goddess. Some *bongā* names have suffixes like *māi*, *dībī*, *chandī*, which give them Hindu-like appellations, though most of the proper names are of Santali origin.

The *orāk-bongās* are not represented by any shrine or symbol in the *bhitri*. The mode and manner of sacrificial ritual in *bhitri* for *orāk-bongā* is similar to that adopted in *jāher thān* by the village priest. A small circle, *khond*, is made with some cowdung and a vermilion mark is applied to it. A small flat piece of stone may also be placed within the circle as *thān* (seat). The specified animal to be sacrificed (*dāne*), generally a red fowl or a goat, is marked with vermilion on its head, stomach and right forelimb, and is fed upon some sun-dried (*āḍwe*) rice grains placed within the circle. While doing so, an incantation is uttered by the officiant which is similar to the incantation used for the ancestor spirits. The *bongā* is addressed by its specific name, and protection of the 'house' from headache, stomach-ache and fever is begged for. The *bongās* are regarded and addressed not as malevolent but as benevolent beings. After this, the animal is beheaded with a weapon which has been purified by sprinkling some water on it and marking its blade with vermilion. The head is placed within the cowdung circle and a few drops of blood from the trunk are allowed to fall on the rice placed within the circle. The same incantation is repeated again by the same person.

The code and personnel, the participant group, the mode of consumption of the sacrificial meal, all these follow the same pattern as narrated above for the ancestor spirits. The sacrificial meal is, however, not offered to the *bongās* as in the case of family spirits.

I could not ascertain the name of *orāk-bongās* from various clans and sub-clans except from a few persons. On specific direct questions I was informed that the families belonging to the different clans and sub-clans do not necessarily have the same *bongās* though there may be such overlap. The affiliation with *orāk-bongās* is irrespective of the clan or sub-clan status. But the families belonging to the same lineage may often have some *orāk-bongās* in common. A family belonging to the sub-sept (*naekī-khil*) of the Marandi clan was found to worship the same *jāher-bongās* (*Jāher-Era* and *Moreko-Turuiko*) within the *bhitri* as its *orāk-bongās*. This is the only instance I came across in which the *jāher* deities are worshipped as family deities.

Although custom lays down that the family deities should be worshipped at the principal festivals, and this is agreed to in theory by the

elders, the actual usage is much varied. Some families worship *orāk-bongās* and other family deities at *sohrāe*, *bānā*, *eroḥ* festivals every year. Some families have special *bongās* for worship at *sohrāe* in addition to those regularly worshipped. Some families were found to worship *orāk-bongās* in alternate years and some after three or five years; and some houses neither worship nor participate in any *bhitri* worship. It appeared to me that a variety of usages are current in Kuapara with regard to the worship of *orāk-bongās* and other family deities. I am unable to say if such laxity is merely a local phenomenon or is widespread among the Santals. This seems to indicate a decline of faith in the efficiency of the family deities or, in other words, decline of fear of the evil disposition of the family *bongās*. This may as well be partly due to lessening of the solidarity of the familial groups. Delimitation in the sphere of the *bhitri* pantheon of ancestor spirits and the spirits of other deceased ones, pointed out before, indicates in the same direction.

The families acquire certain *bongās* as *orāk-bongās* and these deities are inherited patrilineally like other family deities. A family may acquire a *bongā* as family deity in three ways. At the time of persistent disease and distress the Santals resort to divinations to ascertain if there is any particular *bongā* behind the miseries. The *bongā*, thus revealed, is offered immediate sacrifice or is promised a sacrifice after recovery. If, however, the miseries persist and the same *bongā* is revealed again and again in subsequent divinations, the *ōjhā* (magician) may advise the family to promise regular sacrifice to the *bongā* in *bhitri* in the hope that this special treatment will calm down the *bongā*. The *bongā* is given abode or *thān* in *bhitri* along with other family deities and offered regular sacrifices at the scheduled occasions. I have called this process of acquiring a *bongā* for regular worship in a definite place at scheduled occasions as the process of deification, about which I have discussed in some detail elsewhere (Kochar, 1963 : 411-19).

In some cases the *bongās* may themselves reveal their wish for regular offerings through dream, hallucination or by possessing some person in the family and speaking their wish through him or her. Appearance of a *bongā* in these direct manifestations is interpreted as a warning which must be heeded to avert the wrath of the *bongā*. *Ōjhās* invariably advise the individuals concerned to propitiate the *bongā* regularly. The third possible way of acquiring a family *bongā* is generally adopted by those who have lost the knowledge about their *bongās*. The persons concerned consult various *ōjhās* and *jān gurus* (the magicians) about the *bongā* names. This is usually done when the eldest male member of the family dies without passing the secret names of the family *bongā* to the descendants. This may also be resorted to if the particular individual has lost contact with his own family members, either because of migrations or because of quarrels. The *jān guru* and *ōjhā* consult the oracles and divinations and tell the names of the *bongās* to be worshipped as family deities.

Bhorot Marandi of Kuapara quarrelled with his elder brother and migrated to Kuapara village about five years ago. He did not have *bhitri* in his house till recently and did not worship any family deities. On enquiry I learnt that he did not know the names of the *bongās* and due to strained relationship with his elder brother, he did not care to enquire from him the names of his family deities. He consulted some important *ōjhās* and *jān gurus* in the region to find out the names after the lapse of some years. He has recently installed a *bhitri* in his hut with the help of the *ōjhā* of Kuapara and started worship of the family deities. He has by now acquired only one *orāk-bongā*.

Some Santal families of Kuapara area worship certain Hindu goddesses and gods, such as *Kālī*, *Dibī*, *Mohādeb*, *Pārboti*, *Dhormōraj*, as their family deities. The worship of these deities has been borrowed by the Santals from their Hindu neighbours. These deities, also called *bongā*, are recruited into the Santal pantheon when these are revealed in divinations or dreams necessitating or demanding propitiation by sacrifices. Curiously enough, some of these *bongās* are worshipped in Hindu fashion with flowers and sweets and some are worshipped in Santal fashion with blood sacrifices.

Two families of Kuapara worship *pāṭṭā-bongā* which is the collective name for *Mohadēb-bongā* and *Pārboti-bongā*, so called after the Hindu deities *Mahadev* and *Pārvati*. The name *pāṭṭā-bongā* is derived from the Patta festival of Santal Parganas, Bihar, in honour of the above two Hindu deities by the Hindu and tribal population of that area. One of the families in Kuapara worships *pāṭṭā-bongā* on the day of *Sankrānti* in the month of *Baisākh*. The worship is not done within *bhītri* enclosure but in the courtyard in front of *bhītri-orāk* inside a magical circle (*mandali*) made by cowdung paste. The manner and paraphernalia of ritual is different from that adopted in the case of other *orāk-bongās*. Some people make an elevated clay platform as *thān* (altar) for worship. *Mohadēb-bongā* is worshipped first with sweets, *dhūp* (incense), *bel* leaves, flowers, etc., in Hindu fashion. The incantation uttered, however, is the same as used for *orāk-bongās*. The *Pārvati-bongā* is propitiated with the sacrifice of two pigeons and also a goat, if one can afford it. The manner of sacrificing the animals is the same as adopted for *orāk-bongās*. The worship of *pāṭṭā-bongā* is a family affair attended by the male members of the family. The worship is presided over by the eldest male member of the family. The sacrificial meal is consumed by all the male members of the family.

I enquired into the circumstances under which *pāṭṭā-bongā* was adopted by the family. Sukul Marandi's grandfather was told to worship *pāṭṭā-bongā* when the family used to reside in the Dumka region of Santal Parganas, Bihar. The family shifted to Birbhum and first settled about fifteen miles north-west of Kuapara. While living there, the grandfather of Sukul Marandi was again advised to worship these *bongās* which were again persistently revealed in the divinations. Sukul Marandi's grandfather worshipped the *bongās* for some years and then left the village and settled in Kuapara. Here again the same *bongā* continued to be revealed in the divinations and, on the advice of *ōjhās*, Sukul's father started worshipping *pāṭṭā-bongā* once a year. The *bongā* has since then been worshipped regularly by the family.

Another Hindu goddess, *Kālī-bongā*, was worshipped by a family of Kuapara till recently. The description by Datta-Majumdar (1956 : 100-101) shows that it was a mixed family-and-village affair. The description resembles the celebrations at this occasion by the Hindu population of this area. I made specific enquiries about it and my record slightly differed from that given by the above author.

Two decades ago, Kala Marandi was a prosperous Santal of Kuapara and had six adult sons. The family was suddenly gripped with illness and deaths. Divinations and sacrifices to *bongās* were made with no avail and two sons of Kala Marandi died meanwhile. One night the wife of Kala Marandi saw the goddess Kali in her dreams demanding regular propitiation and worship. This was confirmed by subsequent divinations

and thereby Kala started worshipping *Kali-bongā* in his house, synchronizing the time of worship with the worship of the same goddess by the Bengali population around. A goat used to be sacrificed to the *bongā* and the sacrifice was performed by Kala Marandi himself assisted by the *ōjhā* of the village of Kuapara. The *ōjhā*, however, did not partake of the sacrificial meal. Sacrifice was followed by pseudo-Hindu ritual associated with the image of the goddess Kali, in which the villagers also participated. The procession was taken and the image was immersed in the pond in Hindu fashion. All the expenses, including the entertainment of the participants with rice-beer, were met by Kala Marandi himself. The straw structure of the image was brought back some time after the immersion and installed in the house. 'Every evening the womenfolk of the house burn incense before the straw form for about half an hour, and . . . a lighted lamp is also placed there' (Datta-Majumdar, 1956 : 101).

The whole series of ritual activity associated with the image and the daily obeisance to the image is quite foreign to the Santal concept of 'worship' and propitiation of the *bongās*. It shows how the two modes of worship are blended together and yet kept quite separate. The essential act of *bongā* worship, e.g. the sacrifice of a goat and the consumption of sacrificial meal, was performed exclusively by the members of Kala Marandi's family while the festivity and procession were shared by the villagers. The pomp and festivity associated with the image, as described by the earlier author, faded after some years and was cut down to a bare minimum. The sacrifice was later, for some years, performed even without an image of the goddess. It all depended upon the economic resources of the family. The worship of *Kali-bongā* was done along with other *orāk-bongās* at the time of *dasāen* festival. By 1952-53 the worship was completely abolished. It is painful to record that despite such meticulous observances and propitiations of *Kali-bongā*, all the sons of Kala Marandi died one by one. The old man, left alone, deserted the village in 1961.

The two cases given above illustrate the mode of adoption of a new *bongā* as a family deity. I have discussed later the importance of the process of deification of which the two cases provide a good example.

ĀBGĒ-BONGĀ

Most sacred and most jealously guarded family deities of the Santals are the *ābgē-bongā*. No Santal will, in normal course, ever divulge the names of his *ābgē-bongā*. Bodding has at one place described how the mere mention of the proper name of a person's *ābgē-bongā* aroused in him pangs of fear and fury (Bodding, 1945 : *passim*). The *ābgē-bongā* like *orāk-bongā* are a class of *bongās* and not a single individual *bongā*. Each family has its own *ābgē-bongā*, usually one only.

The worship of *ābgē-bongā* is of somewhat different character as compared to *agil hāpram* and *orāk-bongā*. The *ābgē-bongā* are worshipped in the month of *Agahan* on the full-moon night. Sacrifice is done in the fields outside the house in the early hours of morning. On the appointed day all the adult members of the family arrive at a selected site in the fields in the darkness of early morning. They take with them a sheep, vermilion, *sāl* leaves, cowdung, *ādwē* rice grains, a winnowing fan, ordinary rice and some utensils to cook the sacrificial meal. The sacrifice is performed by the eldest male member of the family. A sheep is usually sacrificed to the *ābgē-bongā*. The procedure of sacrifice is the same as that adopted for *jāher-bongā* or *orāk-bongā* except that the *thān* (seat) for the *bongā* must be

prepared at the foot of an ant-hill called *bunum ihī*. The incantation uttered by a Kuapara resident at this occasion runs as follows:

'*Gosāen* (so and so) *johār tobē nok inj imām kānāi. Inān inj gokbhariyē le.*'

(Lord (so and so), salute then to you; accept it with my hand. I fulfil the promise now.) (I am not sure of this translation.)

The sacrificial meal is cooked with rice on the spot and consumed then and there by the male members present at the occasion. The left-overs are buried in the ground. It is interesting to note that rice-beer (*hāndī*) libations are not offered to the *ābgē-bongā*. This is the only *bongā* ritual in which rice-beer libations are not offered.

From literature on the Santal it appears that the *ābgē-bongā* worship was performed at least once every year. One of the priests of the Kuapara area also affirmed that the *ābgē* should be worshipped every year regularly. The actual practice in Kuapara area is irregular and varied. Most families in Kuapara and the adjoining villages perform *ābgē* worship irregularly after every one, two or five years. It is generally done in the fulfilment of a promise to the *ābgē-bongā* in the event of any disease or distress. Performance of this kind of sacrifice is called '*gōk-bharyē*', literally meaning 'carrying the burden' or 'fulfilling the promise'. A laxity in the worship of *ābgē-bongā* is indicative of a change in the religious values and norms which I have indicated above with reference to other family spirits and deities also.

The *ābgē-bongā* worship differs from *orāk-bongā* worship in the following respects:

1. The sacrifice is performed outside the house in strict secrecy. No rice-beer libations are made to the *bongā*.
2. The female members of the family do not partake of the sacrificial meal.
3. The *thān* (seat) of the *ābgē-bongā* is made at the foot of an ant-hill.
4. Sacrifice is irregular.

NATURE OF FAMILY SPIRITS AND DEITIES

The names of family *bongās* are jealously guarded personal secrets of the Santal family. Even the parents are not expected to tell their children about these matters until the former are very old. When asked to recite certain incantations, the *ōjhā* of Kuapara village told me courteously that an incantation cannot be uttered except on the specific occasion because 'its force will become less' (*jor kōmē jābē*). In another house, I was refused the permission to handle a worn-out old weapon of special shape which was used by the grandfather and father of the person for offering sacrifices to the family *bongās*.

The names of these *bongās* are not the same as a rule in all the families belonging to a single clan or sub-clan, although some of the names of *ābgē-* and *orāk-bongās* refer to the places where the ancestors used to live. In fact most *bongā* names are appellatives; instead of referring to the actual names of the *bongās* the appellatives refer to the name of a place, person, flora, fauna, object, etc., with which the *bongā* is associated. The names of the *bongās* like Banspahar, Champadana-gar, Garsinka, Batpahar, etc., are place names; names like Kudraj, Kāthkom Kudraj, Dhara-chandi, Kudra-chandi, Thinda-tursa, are the names of rivers and ponds; some of the names like Gosaen-rai, Lila-chandi, are

proper names of individuals; some names like Guraeya refer to human activity; some names like Dhangaura, Achraeli, refer to place names; some like Naihar refer to social groups (natal group of a woman); some other names refer to the names of material objects, plants or animals. Most names are Santal terms, although some names refer to Hindu deities like Kali, Manasa, Parbati, Chandi, Dharmaraj, Mahadeb, etc.

The family *bongās* are the most personal deities of the Santals in the sense that the individuals and families regard these *bongās* in terms of personal relationship and even personal ownership. These *bongās* are referred to as 'our *ābgē*' and 'our *orāk-bongā*'. The ritual performed for these deities is valid for a particular group only. The deities are assumed to be most intimately related with the welfare of the members of a family. There is much emotional attachment and dependence upon these *bongās*. Desire for amiable relationship with the family *bongās* is a great cultural compulsive.

In this context, I remember the case of Sukul Marandi of Kuapara who one evening fell seriously ill all of a sudden, presumably under the influence of black magic or wrath of *bongā*, so much so that he feared he was going to die. The only male child he had was one year old. To my great surprise, next morning in the early hours I found Sukul, who was still ailing, knocking at my door. He asked me to type down something for him. My surprise had no bounds when I found him dictating to me the names of his *orāk*- and *ābgē-bongās*, the days on which the sacrifices are to be made and the nature of sacrificial animal (*dāñe*), all very precisely laid down. He left immediately after taking the typed document. Sukul, however, got well after a few days, but all my attempts to make him talk about this matter failed. It was much later that I could learn of his ingenious plan. Since he thought his death imminent, the only possible way he could think of communicating the names of his *ābgē*- and *orāk-bongās* to his son was to write down the names and other details. He decided to put the paper in some safe corner in the custody of his wife so that when the child would grow old and learn to read, he would know the necessary details about the family *bongās*.

The instance shows how intimate is the relationship with these *bongās* and how great is the people's anxiety for continued amiable relationship with them. So far as the welfare of the members of a particular family is concerned, in the normal course or in the event of distress the family deities are held in great veneration and confidence, even more than Marangburu and *jāher-bongās*. In an event of disease and distress within the family it is to these deities (*ābgē* and *orāk*) that the Santals appeal first for favours. It is thought possible for a family spirit or deity to get angry and thereby cause miseries.

The family deities are generally regarded as more or less benevolent spiritual beings who have power to protect the family members from other minor malevolent *bongās*. I have no evidence to suggest that the family spirits and deities discussed above exercise any moral or ethical judgement in exercising their powers. Incest is the only act of moral implication in this sense which may be sometimes connected to the displeasure of the family spirits, although I could not establish any actual case. The pleasure or displeasure of the family deities is irrespective of ethical or non-ethical conduct of the family members and solely depends upon the satisfactory treatment meted out to the particular deities by appropriate ritual propitiation. Some informants reported their dreams in which the family spirits (of ancestors and deceased family members) expressed their displeasure about or approval of a particular incident in the family.

PLACE OF *ĀBGĒ-BONGĀS*

There are indications to suggest that *ābgē-bongās* have reference to a wider group than a familineage. The fact that *ābgē* worship is performed outside the house near an ant-hill differentiates it from other family deities whose abode is within the *bhitri* of the house. Strict exclusion of the females and possibly the younger males indicates that *ābgē* worship may not strictly be a family affair. Bodding, and after him Culshaw, have referred to *ābgē* worship as connected with sub-sept or sub-clan (Bodding, Dictionary; Culshaw, 1949 : 84). But they have not given any reason for such a statement. It is not stated whether all the members belonging to a particular *khūi* (sub-clan) perform a joint sacrifice or whether the worship is addressed to the *bongās* of a *khūi* (if there be any such).

Skrefsrud recorded two words in connection with *ābgē*, viz. '*gharnoj-renko*' and '*bhāidi*' (Skrefsrud, 1887: 190, 191). The former term is translated by B. Hansda into Bengali as '*banśa*' which means 'family-line' or progeny and has wider connotation than family (*parivār*) (Hansda, 1953 : 76). The latter term, '*bhāidi*', has a narrower connotation. Campbell's dictionary gives its meaning as 'brothers, near relatives' which may also be wider than a family. The term implies a group of patri-kin.

A similar word '*bhaya*' among Dudh Kharias, a cognate tribe of Chotanagpur, has wider connotation. They refer to their deity *Baranda Pat* (which is held to be equivalent to Marang-buru of the Santals according to Roy) as their '*bhāyād bhūt*' (Roy, 1937 : 312). The latter term is translated by Roy as 'clan spirit'. The symbolism associated with ant-hill at the clan sacrifices among the Dudh Kharia is also suggestive. Among the Mundas of Chotanagpur, another cognate tribe, the clan sacrifices to Buru-bongā or Marang-buru are made by the clan members near an ant-hill. The ant-hill among them is a symbol of the totem of the clan representing the clan deities called '*kili buru bongā*' among the Munda (Roy, 1925b : 173).

The following statement by Kolean *guru* suggests some identity between Marang-buru and the *ābgē-bongā*:

'Maran buruteko ma sajha bongā menkhon ābgē-bongā do apan apinren.'

(Marang-buru is everybody's *bongā* but *ābgē* is one's own.)

(Skrefsrud, 1887 : 190)

The position of Marang-buru among the Santals is overlapping as I have shown below. In some respects, Marang-buru is associated with familial groups and in some respects it is a tribal deity common to all the Santals.

The above statements about the positioning of *ābgē-bongā* are conjectural and my contention in this respect is nothing more than a hypothesis. The possibility of such a connection became obvious to me at the stage of final analysis only, due to which fact I was unable to follow the issue in the field. I am unable to say whether all the members of the same *khūi* have the same *ābgē-bongā*. The sphere of participation at the *ābgē* worship in Kuapara area is, however, certainly not identical to the whole *khūi* group in the village. Furthermore, my specific enquiries about the ritual identity of the whole *khūi* group failed to establish any. The members of the same *khūi* at no occasions participate jointly in any *bongā* ritual. The *khūi* names and *ābgē-bongā* names also do not suggest any identity. The fact that these names are inherited from forefathers with rigid secrecy makes it theoretically probable that the names may be similar to those

belonging to a lineage. It sometimes happens that the elder representative of a domestic group dies without passing the *bongā* names to the eldest male representative. In such cases sometimes the Santals may consult their distant agnatic kin living elsewhere to get these names. It would be possible to adopt these same *bongās* only on the assumption that the names of the family deities of these distant patri-kin are similar.

GENERAL NATURE OF RECENT CHANGES

Village Kuapara is so near Santiniketan and Bolpur town that one may expect the Santals of this village to have completely changed. This is implicit in the common expression by a casual observer: 'Are they *real* Santals?' While it is true that material and economic and even socio-ceremonial ways of Santals of Kuapara have been considerably changed, the essential 'core' of their social and cultural tradition is surprisingly intact. They are very much Santals still. Whatever modifications that have taken place in their religious beliefs and activities are marginal. Since it is not possible to know which of the changes had taken place before settling in this area and which of these have taken place after their settlement in the present socio-ecological environments, it is not possible to ascribe these marginal changes to the forces impinging upon the village life. Therefore, analysis of these changes in this context has limited diagnostic value.

Some changes have taken place in their beliefs and activities with respect to family spirits and deities. The most important is that the rites which were traditionally 'musts' are regarded violable by some individuals. The family spirits and deities had to be worshipped at all the important festivals. While this is still regarded the norm, the usage differs. Libations and sacrifices are now offered to family spirits and deities generally at *sohrāe*, *bāhā* and *erok̄*. But some families worship only at *sohrāe* and some at *erok̄*. At the time of *nawāe* and *bāhā* festivals, sprouts of paddy sheafs and of new flowers used to be respectively offered to family spirits and deities. No such offerings are now made in Kuapara. Offerings are expected to be made to *ābgē-bongās* at least once every year. In Kuapara this is now generally done in alternate years. Some families worship *ābgē* after three or five years and some only when advised by the *ōjhā* to do so on the event of illness or death. The frequency of contact with family spirits and *bongās* has thus changed but there is no evidence of fluidity in the ritual behaviour patterns. No abridged or short-cut devices are adopted for ritual performances.

Although every adult male in Santal society is expected to participate in the family rituals, the changed pattern of family relationships and strains now withhold some persons from participating in these rituals. Every adult male cannot establish a *bhitri* in his own hut soon after separation from the parental house because of the fact that the names of family *bongās* and details of the ritual are not known to him. Participation in rituals in the ancestral hut, which is the only alternative, is not availed of because of strained relations with the incumbents occupying the ancestral hut. I came to know of five persons in the village who are not participating in family rituals nor are they performing these in their own huts. It is not because they do not realize the seriousness of the consequences which may follow, but that they rather choose to suffer from the wrath of the *bongās* than to reconcile an 'impossible' social tangle. This is perhaps an example of a cultural compulsive giving way to a social compulsive.

For similar reasons the participant group at family rituals is generally

smaller than it used to be. The participant group is now generally coterminous with domestic group. Inter-domestic participation by the members of the same family-line (familineage) is generally very much limited.

Changes in family organization have also delimited the sphere and span of spirits and deities worshipped by the families. Previously, putative and actual lineage ancestors were offered sacrifices and libations but now *Fa'Fa'Fa* is the farthest incumbent remembered by name—that too only in some families. Most of the families appear to remember their *Fa'Fa* only. In some families spirits of deceased junior male incumbents (*Br*, *So*) and even the spirits of deceased female kin (*Mo*, *Da*) are propitiated at *bhitri* rituals. Inclusion of the spirits of the deceased females in some families reflects corresponding changes in the family organization.

Some Hindu deities have been adopted by the Santals as family deities. I have above described the circumstances in which such deities are acquired as *orāk-bongās* and the rites associated with them. The Hindu deity is conceived within the general frame of Santal world-view but this is partially affected by the context of Hindu mythology. To Santals, Kali, Mahadev, Parbati, Dharmaraj, etc., are analogous to *bongās*. In some cases, the rites and ceremonies associated with these deities among the Hindus are also partially adopted hand in hand with their traditional form of propitiatory rites. But adoption of different modes of propitiation does not seem to have substantially effected their conceptualization of the deity as being something different from the *bongās*.

It was not possible to know the names of *orāk-bongās* from all families. Whatever evidence is available shows that while large numbers of *bongās* were previously recognized and worshipped as family deities, now in Kuapara relatively fewer numbers of *bongās* are recognized as family deities. This is perhaps because of the fact that the habitat (forest, hill, stream, etc.) which was associated with *bongās* no more exists here.

Lastly, one important change may be mentioned. The position of Marang-buru in the family rituals has evidently declined. Previously Marang-buru used to be offered a fowl before making sacrifices to *orāk-bongās* but now no fowl is sacrificed for Marang-buru. This deity is offered only rice-beer libations before making such libations to the family spirits and deities.

Despite all these changes the essential character of Santal family spirits and deities, and the behaviour pattern associated with these, has not undergone any radical transformation among the Santals of Kuapara village. There is an indication, however, of some decline in their faith in *bongās* because under certain circumstances *bongā* worship is not considered absolutely binding.

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COMPOSITE FORM OF VĀSUDEVA AND LAKṢMĪ

By PRATAPADITYA PAL

The Museum für Volkerkunde in Basel possesses a small collection of bronzes from Nepal, one of which is of exceptional interest. The image (Pl. I) is 15·8 cm. in height and is a beautiful example of medieval Nepalese art.

On a double-petalled lotus pedestal the deity stands in *samapada* posture. The right half of the figure is male and the left female as found in the images of *Ardhanārīśvara*. Except for the prominent feminine breast on the left of the naked torso, there is no other significant difference in the modelling in either half. In contrast to the plain diaphanous garment clinging to the right leg, the left is draped in one with a floral design. Parts of the garment overhang in stylized folds on either side and between the legs. Of the ornaments the diadem, the necklace and the waist-band are common to both halves and both feet bear anklets of similar design. The right ear, however, is adorned with a *kundala* and each of the arms bears an *aṅgada*; the left ear has a large ring and the arms have ornaments different from those on the right. The ornaments must have been set with semi-precious stones which no longer exist.

Of the eight hands, three on the right carry a *cakra* (discus), *gadā* (mace) and a *śaṅkha* (conch-shell) while the palm of the fourth bears a lotus-mark. One of the four left hands is broken but the remaining three carry a *pustaka* (manuscript), *darpaṇa* (mirror) and a *kalasa* (water-vessel).

The attributes in the four right hands of the male half of the figure leave no room for doubting his identification with Viṣṇu. Naturally the left half should represent his consort Lakṣmī; and this identification may be corroborated textually.

In the *Tantrasāra*,¹ a *mantra* is devoted to Lakṣmī-Vāsudeva. It begins: *māyādvayaṃ ramādvayaṃ Lakṣmī-Vāsudevāya namaḥ*; and the *dhyāna* is as follows:

*vidyuccandranibhaṃ vapuḥ kamalajāvaikuṇṭhayor-ekatām
prāptam sneharasena ratnavilasādbhūṣābharālaṅkṛtam /
vidyāpaṅkajadarpaṇān manimayaṃ kumbhaṃ sarojaṃ gadām,
śaṅkhaṃ cakramamūni vibhṛad-amitām diśyācchi yaṃ vaḥ sadā //*

‘The body of Kamalajā, bright as the lightning, and the body of Vaikuṇṭha, bright as the moon, have been united in love; and are ornamented with various jewels. The goddess carries *vidyā* (knowledge), *paṅkaja* (lotus), *darpaṇa* (mirror) and *kumbha* (vase) filled with jewels while Vāsudeva has *saroja* (lotus), *gadā* (mace), *śaṅkha* (conch) and *cakra* (discus) in his hands. Let this deity grant you infinite wealth and well-being.’

It is obvious from the first line of the *dhyāna* that in this particular conception, the two bodies of Vāsudeva and Lakṣmī become one in their mutual love for each other. In transforming this conception into tangible form, the artist had little difficulty in devising the composite image under discussion, the comparatively well-known images of *Ardhanārīśvara* providing excellent models.

¹ *Bṛhat Tantrasāra*, Calcutta, pp. 191-92

An admirable representation of such a composite conception of Lakṣmī-Vāsudeva may also be found in a *paṭa* (Pl. II) from Nepal, now in the collection of the Ramakrishna Mission Institute of Culture, Calcutta. The painting has an inscription which reveals the date as 383, presumably of the Newari Era and corresponding to A.D. 1263. This makes it one of the earliest existing *paṭas* from Nepal. In fact, it is also a rather rare example of a painted *maṇḍala* of a Brahmanical deity.

The central figure of the *maṇḍala* is white and stands in *samapada-sthānaka* posture on a double-petalled lotus within an elaborate shrine. The arch or *toraṇa* of the shrine presents a beautiful design of stylized *makaras*, ornate floral and scroll motif, *haṁsas* and a gaping *kīrttimukha* dominating the apex. As in the metal image, the right half is male and the left female, the feminine breast being indicated by a large circle. Likewise also only ornaments decorate the otherwise naked upper portion of the body. The right leg is draped only to the knee while the left is covered to the ankle. The garment is brightly painted in vivid red, blue and green, and the folds overhang on either side and between the legs as in the metal image. Near the right foot is a garuḍa and next to the left a *kūrma* or tortoise. The attributes in the eight hands are quite clearly discernible. Those in the four right hands are *cakra*, *śaṅkha*, *gadā* and *padma*; and in the four left hands are the *prastaka*, *utpala*, *darpaṇa* and *kalasa*.

Apart from the two attendant figures on either side of the principal deity, forty-eight others constitute the *maṇḍala* (see Diagram and Table). Among these are Dvādaśa Rāsis or the twelve signs of the zodiac, the Aṣṭadīkṣpālas or Guardians of the eight quarters, the Navagrahas or the Nine Planets, twelve different emanations of the *vyūha* aspect of Vāsudeva and seven other miscellaneous Brahmanical divinities. Of these seven, Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Gaṇeśa and Kārttikeya are easily recognized. Of the remaining three, one is the Śiva-līṅga, one Śiva with Umā on his lap and the other apparently Bhairava.

At the bottom of the painting, just above the inscription, is a panel divided into five sections. In the section on the extreme left a priest with his attendant is seen offering libations to fire, and in the next a man is being anointed with water. In the centre a woman dances with what appears to be a sword in her right hand and in the next section a seated woman is seen conversing with another. In the section on the extreme right are two couples with folded arms, evidently the donors. These scenes appear to be common features of many of the Buddhist *paṭas* of Nepal and will be discussed later.

Despite the relative antiquity of the painting, the colours are well preserved. Each deity is no doubt given his own colour following iconographical injunction, but otherwise the painter has used his colours quite freely. The tendency, of course, is to employ the bright primary colours like red, yellow, green and blue. A rather unusual shade is the purple used in painting the two *makaras*. A light shade of pink is also seen in some of the divine and human figures in the panel at the bottom of the *paṭa*. The scroll and floral design of the arch is mostly in red and yellow while the stylized geese are in red. The oval *prabhā* immediately behind the central figure shows a very effective use of dark blue in contrast to the white deity. As a general rule red has been applied frequently to paint the background, not always imaginatively. In one instance a slightly modified shade of red forms the background of a deity whose colour is red.

The inscription at the bottom of the painting is as follows :

*Om namo bhagavate Vāsudevāya || himakandendusadrśaṁ padma-
kaumodakī-punaḥ | śaṅkha-cakradharaṁ daṇḍa (dakṣe) vāme ca kalasaṁ
tathā || darppanaṁ utpalaṁ vidyā vaiṣṇavaṁ kamalānṇitaṁ || pātu daitya
nirākāra trāhināṁ Puruṣottamaḥ || nepālavarṣa rasanāndhāya urjjaḥ
sile māsīharotithauca | udyāpanaṁ yadīramāhareṣu vedavidhānā kratu-
kāritaṁca || śrīkāśīrāja(de)va(?)navipra*sau kalyāṇarājadvijadhārm-
mikoyaṁ || iti śrīkāśīrājadevaputnisaha | śrīkalyāṇarājadevabrāhmaṇi-
saha || śrī śrī jayamukundamalladeva tasyāputrā śrī śrī udayādevī¹
satrahaṣī bhāryyā jayatalakṣmī tasyaputra vijayasimha bhāro tasyapatnī
luṅgatrīlakṣmī | samvat 383 kārītika śuddhi 11 || śubhaṁ |*

* denotes an illegible letter.

The *dhyāna* at the beginning of the inscription appears to be substantially the same as that quoted from the *Tantrasāra*. The rest of the inscription gives a list of names of the donor and members of his family. The expression *vaiṣṇavaṁ kamalānṇitaṁ* clearly indicates the composite form of Viṣṇu and Kamalā which is another name of Lakṣmī. Thus Lakṣmī in this particular form appears to be known as either Kamalajā or Kamalā.

There is thus no doubt that images representing a composite form of Lakṣmī-Vāsudeva or Kamalajā-Vaikuṇṭha were and, perhaps, are even now in worship in Nepal. It is interesting, nevertheless, that no such image has so far been found in India although the existence of a *dhyāna* in Tantric literature surely indicates that the form was known and worshipped there also. Evidently, the origin of such a conception was inspired by that of Puruṣa and Prakṛti of the Sāṅkhya system or that of *Upāya* and *Prājñā* of Buddhism. The ostensible forms of these abstract principles were the complementary pairs of Śiva and Śakti and Avalokiteśvara and Tārā.

The influence of this conception on Vaiṣṇavism came somewhat later than on the other two sects. It is not known when exactly the Vaiṣṇava Sahajiyā cult originated but generally held that sometime during the time of the Senas it began taking shape.² The *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, a work of the ninth or tenth century, makes no mention of Rādhā; the earliest text to emphasize the amorous nature of the relationship between Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa is the *Gītagovinda* of Jayadeva (c. twelfth century).

It is significant therefore that we find a thirteenth-century painting of the composite form of Viṣṇu and Lakṣmī (*vaiṣṇavaṁ kamalānṇitaṁ*). Still more significant is the expression *vidyuccandranibhaṁ vapuḥ kamalajāvaikuṇṭhāyor-ekatāṁ prāptāṁ sneharasena* where *sneharasena* seems to reflect the basic tenet of the Vaiṣṇava Sahajiyā cult. It is their mutual love that unites the bodies of Viṣṇu and Lakṣmī. Although it is difficult to set a date for the passage from the *Tantrasāra*, the thirteenth-century painting and the sculpture, which is coeval if not earlier, remain the earliest tangible representations of this conception.

The iconic type was no doubt influenced by the better-known and older representations of *Ardhanārīśvara*. Unlike the conception of *Ardhanārīśvara*, however, no feeling of syncretism seems to be involved here. The *Ardhanārīśvara* images reflect an attempt at syncretism between two principal Brahmanical sects.³ As the goddess of wealth and prosperity,

¹ The fact that the name of Jayamukundamalla and that of his wife are preceded by two 'śrīs' and that it has a 'malla' ending points to the possibility of his belonging to the royal family of the Mallas.

² S. B. Dasgupta, *Obscure Religious Cults*, 2nd ed., Calcutta, 1962, p. 118.

³ J. N. Banerjea, *The Development of Hindu Iconography* 2nd ed., p. 552.

Lakṣmī has always remained a very important household deity, worshipped either independently or as an inseparable companion of Viṣṇu. But despite her popularity, no separate sect has evolved around her.

Certain other traits appear to be peculiar to this conception of Lakṣmī. Of her attributes, the lotus and the vase are familiar but the mirror and the manuscript are apparently uncommon, although the mirror is not an altogether unusual or inapposite attribute. The mirror is frequently associated with many a form of Devī and in her quintessence Lakṣmī is after all a manifestation of Devī.

The manuscript, no doubt, symbolizes her *jñāna* aspect. In the Bangiya Sāhitya Parishad image of Lakṣmī,¹ the manuscript appears as an attribute in one of her left hands. Thus, like many other important cult divinities, e.g. Śiva and Devī, the conception of Lakṣmī, too, was expanded at a fairly early stage and, over the basic concept of a goddess of wealth, the aspect of *jñāna* was superimposed.

In a passage in the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*² Lakṣmī is considered as 'intellect' and the *Tantrasāra* once again sheds further light on this aspect. In connection with a charm—Lakṣmī-kavacam—one finds the following verses³:

Īśvara urāca :

*atha vakṣye maheshāni kavacam sarvakāmadam /
 yasya vijnānamātreṇa bhavet sāksāt sadāśivaḥ /
 nārcanam tasya devēṣi mantramātram japen-narah /
 sa bhavet pārvalīputraḥ sarvasāstrapuraskṛtaḥ /
 vidyārthinā sadā sevya viśeṣe viṣṇuvallabhā /
 aṣṭāścaturakṣariviṣṇuvanitāyāḥ kavacasya śrībhagavān
 śivarṣīranuṣṭupachando vāgbhavi devatā vāgbhavam bījam
 lajja śaktiḥ ramā kīlakaṁ kāmabījātmakaṁ kavacam mama
 sukarīva-supāṇḍitya-sarvasiddhisamṛddhaye viniyogaḥ /*

It is quite explicitly stated here that those who use this *kavaca* or charm, after observing proper rites, will obtain proficiency in all branches of knowledge. It is also added that students always worship Lakṣmī, the beloved of Viṣṇu.

At any rate by the thirteenth century Lakṣmī had come to be associated with knowledge. Curiously, in the Buddhist pantheon, Vasudhārā, who is primarily the goddess of wealth and prosperity like her Brāhmanical counterpart, also came to be connected with *vidyā* or *jñāna* in medieval times and in most six-armed images of the goddess, especially from Nepal, the manuscript is an invariable attribute.⁴ While one cannot definitely assert that this concept of Vasudhārā had anything to do with that of Lakṣmī's association with knowledge, Tantrikism once again appears to be the common ground where such intermingling was possible.

One other peculiar feature in the *paṭa* is the presence of *kūrma*. The tortoise is normally the vehicle of Yamunā and Dharma and her association with Lakṣmī is not known. But it is associated with Viṣṇu and Vaiṣṇava mythology in more than one way.

¹ R. D. Banerji, *Eastern Indian School of Medieval Sculpture*, p. 121; Pl. LXII a.

² H. H. Wilson, *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, London, 1840, p. 60.

³ *Līkhat Tantrasāra*, p. 487.

⁴ B. N. Mukherjee, *Vasudhārā* (in Bengali), 4th year, Vol. I, No. I, pp. 21 ff.

In the *Agni Purāṇa*,¹ the description of Puruṣottama begins as follows: *kūrmādikalpīte pīṭhe padmasthan garuḍopari /* 'On a pedestal composed of the tortoise, etc., is a lotus on which is the garuḍa . . .'

It is also interesting that in the *dhyāna* at the beginning of the inscription in the painting under discussion we find the expression *pātu daitya nīrākārā trāhinām puruṣottama*. Although Vāsudeva is being addressed here as *Puruṣottama*, the iconography of the painting does not agree with the description of Puruṣottama either in the *Agni Purāṇa* or the *Śāradātīlaka*.² According to both texts Puruṣottama himself has eight arms which hold attributes peculiar to him while Kamalā, who is two-armed, is seated on his lap. The only common factors appear to be the emphasis on the amorous aspect of both, the use of the name Kamalā and the presence of both garuḍa and *kūrma*.

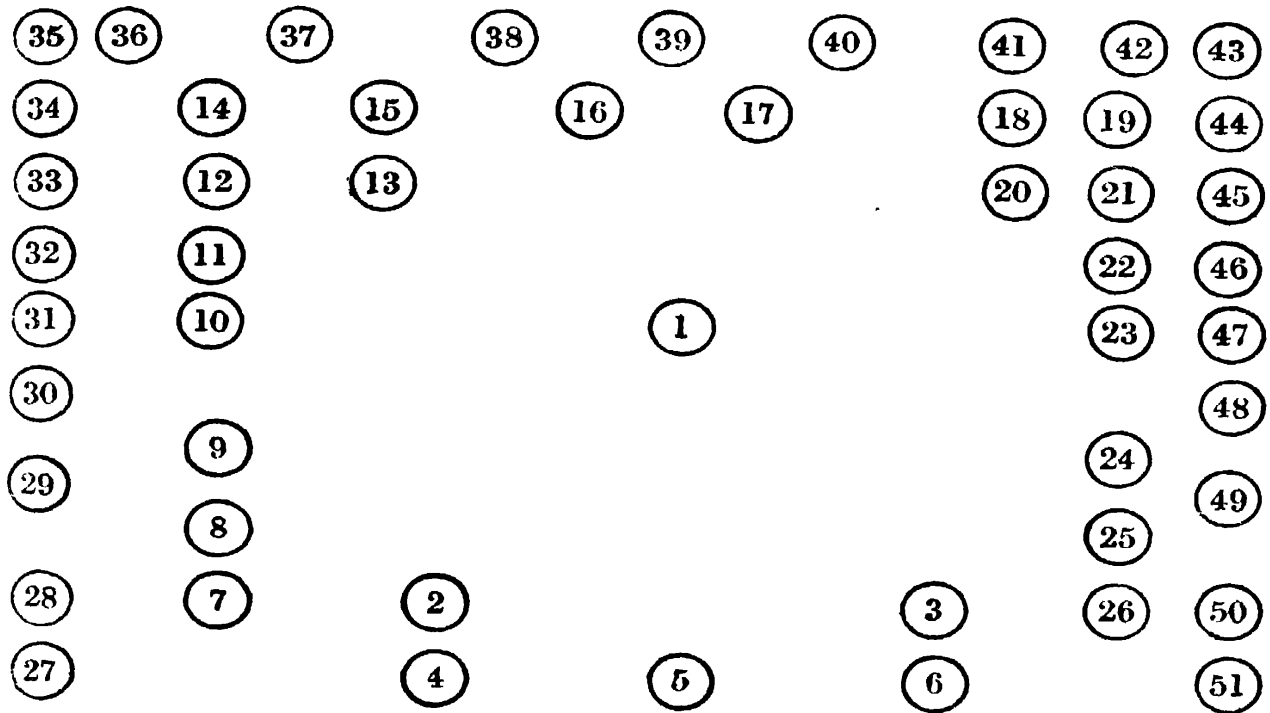


DIAGRAM.

The use of the word '*puruṣottama*' in the inscription has two possible meanings. It may be simply an invocatory title of Vāsudeva without any iconographic significance, which is more likely. On the other hand, it may refer specifically to Puruṣottama, manifesting a form different from that described in the *Agni Purāṇa* and the *Śāradātīlaka*. At any rate, the tortoise in the painting is present, perhaps, by virtue of its association with Viṣṇu rather than as the vehicle of Kamalā.

It is also curious, although a fact not surprising, in Nepal, that the top of this Vaiṣṇava *paṭa* should be adorned with a Śiva-linga. In fact, the linga occupies the position of a parental Dhyānī Buddha or Tathāgata in a painting of a Buddhist *maṇḍala*, and thus clearly points to the importance attached to Śiva. Time and again in Nepal one comes across

¹ Marie-Thérèse De Mallmann, *Les Enseignements Iconographiques de L'Agni-Purana* (Paris, 1963), pp. 43 f.

² *Ibid.*, p. 44, f.n. 2 and 3.

this phenomenon—the pronounced emphasis on the supremacy of Śiva.¹ This is no doubt due to the fact that Śaivism remains the predominant religious cult in Nepal and has ostensibly permeated all other religious systems.

It may be worth while to mention in this context that the Newars—who are almost exclusively responsible for all art and architecture in Nepal—generally consider themselves as belonging to two broad religious sects: those who are Śivamārgī and those who are Bauddhamārgī. If a Newar is not a Bauddhamārgī, then no matter whether he worships in the temple of Viṣṇu or in that of Śakti, basically he remains a Śivamārgī. This may explain the partiality of a Śivamārgī Newar sculptor to add a tiny liṅga at the top of a stele as a matter of course. But his doing so, however, is not necessarily indicative of an intentional sectarian bias on his part.

TABLE

NAMES OF DEITIES CONSTITUTING THE *MAṆḌALA*

1. Vāsudeva-Kamalā
2. Attendant
3. Attendant
4. Meṣa
5. Varuṇa. The iconography of Varuṇa is interesting. He is painted as a white two-armed male seated on a *makara*; a seven-hooded *nāga* forms his *prabhā*. In his right hand he holds the *pāśa*; the attribute in his left hand cannot be recognized. Basically the iconography is in agreement with his description in the *Agni Purāṇa*²: *varuṇam makaraśvetam nāgapāśadharam smaret*. It seems to be closer, however, to the description of the god in the Buddhist text, *Niṣpannayogāvalī*³: *vāruṇa makare varuṇaḥ śvetaḥ saptaphaṇo nāgapāśaśaṅkhabhṛt*. The seven-hooded *nāga* or *saptaphaṇo* perhaps stands for the seven seas symbolically as the seven swans in the *Viṣṇudharmottara*⁴ are explained.
6. Vṛṣa
7. A pinkish male figure seated with his Śakti on his lap. His right hand holds a staff-like object and the left embraces the female partner. This appears to be the anthropomorphic representation of Mithuna, another sign of the zodiac.
8. Siṁha
9. Tulā: a pink male seated in *mahārājalilā*, the right hand shows the *vyākhyānamudrā* and the left holds a balance.
10. Dhanu: a composite figure, the upper portion being human and the lower animal. Of the two hands the right pulls the string while the left holds the bow.
11. Kumbha: a pink male in *mahārājalilā*, holding a *kumbha* above his head with both hands.
12. Rāhu: a fierce-looking male seated on an animal, his right hand holding a red disc and his left a white one. The iconography closely follows the description of the Graha in the *Niṣpannayogāvalī*⁵:

¹ Many other Vaiṣṇava images, where the liṅga is placed at the top of the stele are known to the author. Or, again, in an inscription on the back of a metal image of the Buddha (now in the collection of the Rijksmuseum, Leiden), the donor, while invoking Āryyāvalokiteśvara, stresses at the same time that his *iṣṭadevatā* is Paśupati.

² Mallmann, *op. cit.*, p. 131, f.n. 1.

³ Benoytosh Bhattacharyya, ed., *Niṣpannayogāvalī*, p. 61.

⁴ Priyabala Shah, ed., *Viṣṇudharmottara-Purāṇa*, Third *Khaṇḍa*, Vol. II, p. 147.

⁵ B. T. Bhattacharyya, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

Rāhu raktakṛṣṇaḥ suryacandrabhṛt-savyetarakaraḥ

The red and white discs are evidently the sun and the moon.

13. Śiva with Umā on his lap.
14. Candra
15. Budha
16. Bṛhaspati
17. Śukra
18. Maṅgala
19. Sūrya
20. Ketu
21. Śani
22. Mina
23. Makara
24. Vṛścika
25. Kanyā
26. Karkaṭa
27. Vāyu
28. Keśava : colour black *
29. Nārāyaṇa : colour white
30. Mādhava : colour red
31. Kuvera
32. Govinda : colour yellow
33. Viṣṇu : colour yellow
34. Madhusūdana : colour red
35. Īśāna
36. Brahmā
37. Gaṇeśa
38. Śiva as Bhairava
39. Śiva Liṅga
40. Indra
41. Kārttikeya
42. Viṣṇu seated on garuḍa. The position of the attributes in the four hands agrees with that of Vāmana of the *caturvīṃśatimūrtayah*.
43. Agni †
44. Trivikrama : colour red
45. Vāsudeva : colour yellow
46. Śrīdhara : colour red
47. Yama
48. Hṛṣīkeśa : colour dark blue
49. Padmanābha : colour white
50. Dāmodara : colour yellow (?)
51. Nirrti

* It is interesting to note that the twelve different emanations of Vāsudeva are each given a different colour.

† From the position of the Dikpālas, the directions can be determined in the *maṇḍala*.

With regard to the scenes in the panel at the bottom of the painting, it has already been remarked that they are often seen in the Buddhist *paṭas* of Nepal. In that context Madam Monod¹ has attempted to explain their significance and quite convincingly traced their origin to the Pāla

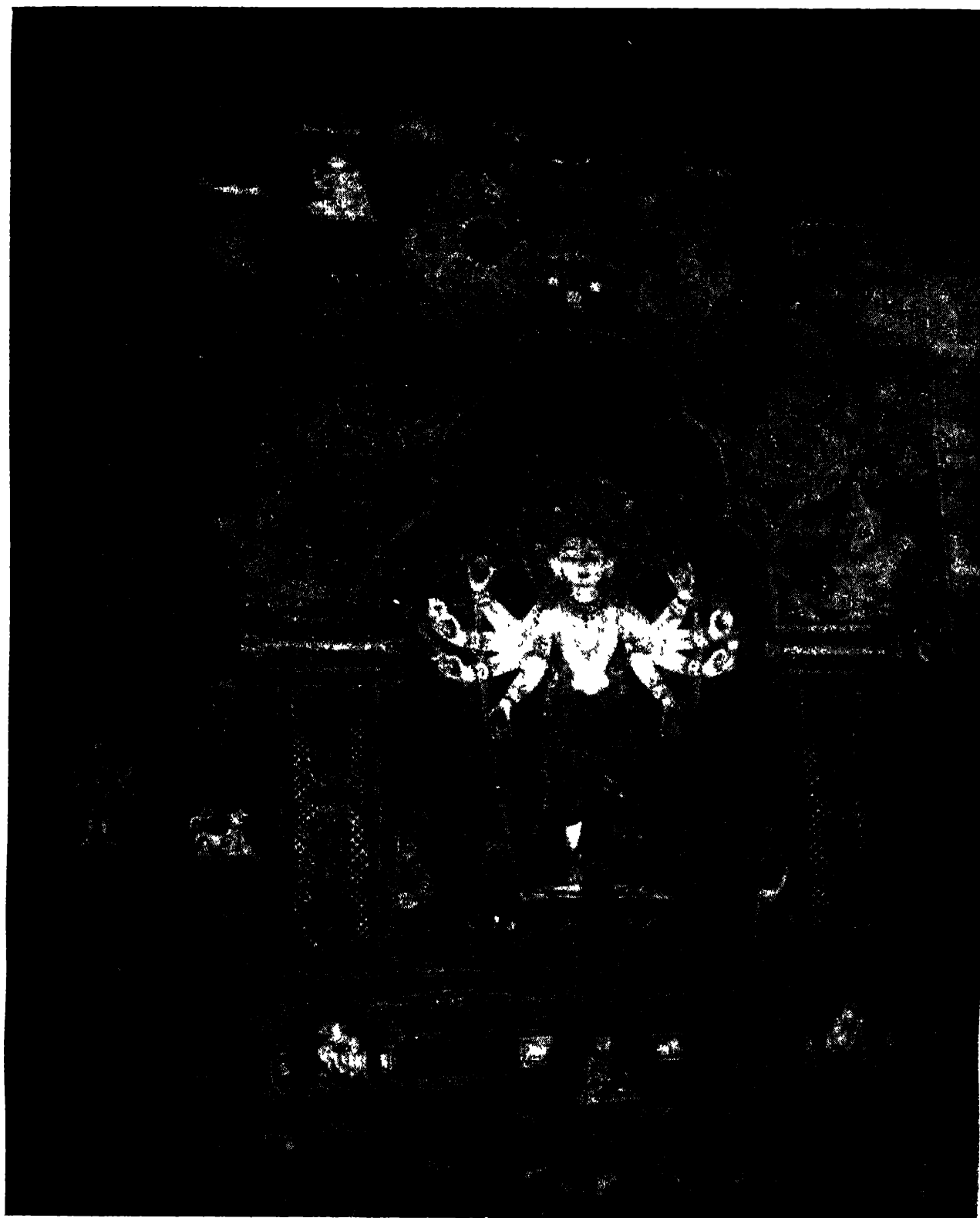
¹ Odette Monod-Brühl, 'Une peinture Népalaise du Musée Guimet' in *Arts Asiatiques*, tome VI, fascicule 4, 1959, pp. 302 f.

sculptures of Eastern India. Usually these scenes are not met with in Brāhmanical sculptures of the period. The priest offering oblations to the fire is clearly performing *homa*, a survival of Vedic rituals and is performed with equal zeal by a Buddhist and a Hindu. The scene of anointment no doubt represents *abhiṣeka*, a rite performed during the initiation ceremony of a devotee to Tantric practices. The person being anointed is perhaps the donor himself. The ceremony of *abhiṣeka* forms an important part of Tantric rituals, both Hindu and Buddhist.



Courtesy, Museum für Völkerkunde, Basel

Metal image : a composite form of Lakṣmī-Vāsudeva



*Courtesy, Ramakrishna Mission Institute of Culture, Calcutta
Pala*

A RARE VIṢṆU IMAGE IN HIS KEVALA NARASIMHA FORM
FOUND IN BHAGALPUR DISTRICT

By P. C. SINGH

The Viṣṇu cult was mainly evolved from the worship of the five Vṛiṣṇi heroes headed by Vāsudeva Kṛiṣṇa in the centuries before the Christian Era. To bring it within the orthodox Vedic faith, Vāsudeva Kṛiṣṇa was identified by the Brāhmaṇas with the Vedic sun-god Viṣṇu. The religion was originally known as Bhāgvata and it came to be described at a comparatively late stage of its growth as Vaiṣṇava. In its earlier stages this religion was also known as Ekāntika, Pāñcarātra, Sātvata, etc.

One of the main characteristics of the Viṣṇu cult is that the god should always be worshipped in images; this led to the creation of his various forms. The images illustrate the Arccā aspect of the god, one of their principal groups being connected with the Vibhava or the incarnatory aspect. His incarnatory forms (Avatāras) form part of the Pāñcarātra or the Bhāgvata creed. The *Bhagavadgītā* explains the ideology underlying the Avatāravāda though it does not exactly specify the number of his incarnations. The later texts of the Pāñcarātra school also contain references to his Avatāras. The *Mahābhārata* mentions his incarnatory forms of Haṁsa, Kūrma, Matsya, Varāha, Narasimha, Vāmana, Paraśurāma, Rāma, Sātvata and Kalkin. The Narasimha aspect of Viṣṇu is also mentioned in the later Upaniṣads and Purāṇas. His images at times are also classified as Yoga, Bhoga, Vīra and Abhicārika on the basis of the different kinds of wishes that his devotees want to be fulfilled by worshipping his various forms.

Narasimha (man-lion) is one of Viṣṇu's Avatāras. According to mythology, Viṣṇu broke forth from the pillar of the palace of the Titan king Hiranyakaśipu in this terrific form, having the head and claws of a lion and the body of a man, when the demon king, on hearing the reply of his son Prahlāda that Viṣṇu was present even in that pillar, had scornfully broken it with his scimitar. Narasimha had then thrown Hiranyakaśipu on his thigh and had torn him to pieces. Narasimha Avatāra is therefore fundamentally a terrific form of Viṣṇu. At times he is also shown as emerging out of the pillar, and this form is known as *Sthāṇa Narasimha*. Since Viṣṇu is pre-eminently a god of love, and whatever deeds of destruction were associated with him in some of his forms were really acts of grace and deliverance, the Vaiṣṇava devotees were not always inclined to depict him in his Narasimha form as a terrific god of destruction. And at times they depicted him even in this form as a god of peace, tranquillity and yogic meditation by giving him a peaceful aspect. In this way the images of Kevala Narasimha and Lakṣmī-Narasimha were evolved. In these images he is the god of love and tranquillity, although he retains his hybrid form.

The lion is considered as a symbol of Dharma and wisdom for a long time, and therefore the man-lion representation of Viṣṇu suits well with the yogic conception. It may also be said that Narasimha represents the *jñāna* (wisdom) aspect of Viṣṇu in a way. This briefly explains the origin of the Kevala Narasimha form. The images of Kevala Narasimha have been found in Badami Cave, Deogarh, Halebidu (Mysore), and in Namakkal temple (Salem, Madras State). But in Eastern India Viṣṇu's image in this

form is extremely rare. This is the first time that the image of Kevala Narasimha has been found in Bihar by me. The image was found in Kheri, a village about 20 miles south-west of Bhagalpur in the State of Bihar.

The Kheri hills also contain a number of shell inscriptions. Names of devotees are also found inscribed here and there in letters bearing characters of about the seventh century A.D.

The image is of black stone and 34 inches high. Viṣṇu in this form may have two or four arms. In the four-armed ones, the upper right hand should hold the *cakra* (disc), and the upper left hand the *śaṅkha* (conch), and the other two hands hanging downwards should rest on the knees. The colour of Viṣṇu in this form should be crystal white. The *Śilparatna*, however, does not exactly give this description. According to it the *cakra* and *śaṅkha* should be shown near the two outstretched hands and the other two hands should carry the *gadā* (club) and the *padma* (lotus). In the Kheri image he is seen carrying in the two upper hands *śaṅkha* and a ring-like object. In the remaining two hands he is carrying *gadā* and *cakra*. The image, though its facial expression is somewhat grotesque, shows good modelling and sense of vigorous plastic composition. The leonine manes are well arranged, and the shape of the emblems *gadā* and *cakra*, the general features of the sculpture, as well as the circular halo give it a fairly early date. The image may be regarded as a good handiwork of the early medieval sculptors of Eastern India.



KANISHKA I AND THE DECCAN—AN EXAMINATION
OF LÉVI'S THEORY

By BRATINDRA NATH MUKHERJEE

Sylvain Lévi, in an article published posthumously in the pages of the *Journal Asiatique*, Vol. CCXXVIII, suggested that certain sources should indicate Kanishka I's personal authority over a great part of the Deccan.¹

Lévi drew attention to a section (No. 52) in the *Periplus*. The passage in question, which speaks of market-towns after Broach, can be translated as follows:

'The local market towns (are) in the following order: Akabharous, Ouppara (i.e. Sopara), (and) Calliena (i.e. Kalyan, near Bombay), which in the time of elder Saraganos (Saraganus) had become a lawful market-town. After that Sandanes himself took possession of it and it was obstructed to a great degree. And Greek vessels, which may come to this place by chance, are brought to Barygaza under guard.'²

Lévi took this Sandanes as the master of Barygaza or modern Broach and Calliena or the Kalyan region of littoral Konkan. He conquered, according to Lévi, the latter area from Saraganus, identifiable with Sātakarṇi—a name shared by a few Sātavāhana kings.³ Lévi wanted to connect the name of Sandanes with that of a region which in Ptolemy's *Geography* denoted a great part of the Western Deccan, starting from Sopara, a place situated not far from Kalyan. In the Latin versions of the *Geography* the name in question appears as Ariaca Sandanorum or Sadanorum.⁴ According to Lévi, the form *Sandanorum* is 'in complete identity' with that of Sandanes of the *Periplus*. And if this is so, Sandanes was the master of a great part of the Deccan.⁵

Lévi then turned to certain Chinese texts. He drew attention to the term *chen-t'an* appearing before the name of Kanishka (Chia-ni-cha) in the *Ta chuang-yen lun ching*, which he took to be a Chinese translation of the *Sūtrālaṅkāraśāstra* by Aśvaghosha. The translation was done by Kumārajīva in c. A.D. 405.⁶ The term *chan-t'an* accompanied the name *Kanishka* (Chi-ni-cha) in two stories occurring in the *Tsa pao-tsang ching*, translated

¹ *JA*, 1936, Vol. CCXXVIII, pp. 61–92.

² *Periplus*, sec. 52 (Frisk, *Periplus*, p. 17). Sometimes Ouppara is unnecessarily corrected by editors and translators Soupapa (see Schoff, *Periplus*, p. 43; Frisk, *Periplus*, p. 17, n.; *JA*, 1936, Vol. CCXXVIII, p. 62); Opara itself is a local variant of the name Sopara (see *Journal of the Bombay Historical Society*, Vol. I, p. 72).

For translations slightly different from that given here, see Boyer, *JA*, 1897, s. IX, Vol. IX, p. 138; Schoff, *Periplus*, p. 43; Lévi, *JA*, 1936, Vol. CCXXVIII, p. 62.

³ *JA*, 1936, Vol. CCXXVIII, pp. 62, 75 and 92.

⁴ *Ptolemy*, VII, I, 6 and 82.

⁵ *JA*, 1936, Vol. CCXXVIII, pp. 75 and 92. Lévi stated the date of the *Periplus* as A.D. 50–100 and placed that of Ptolemy's information about the section concerned between A.D. 125 and 160 in one place and only in the first half of second century A.D. in another (see *ibid.*, pp. 68 and 92).

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 80; *ibid.*, 1896, s. IX, Vol. VIII, p. 445; *Nanjio*, 1182; *Taisho Tripitaka*, 201, Ch. IV, p. 287, 1.19. The date of the translation should be placed, according to Zürcher, in early fifth century A.D. (*PCDK*, Zürcher's article, p. 15). Scholars now generally take this Chinese work as the translation of Kumāralāta's *Kalpanāmaṇḍīpikā* (*ibid.*, p. 15).

into Chinese language by Chi-chio-yeh and T'an-ya in c. A.D. 472,¹ and again in the *Fu fa-tsang-yin-yüan chuan*, translated by the same authors in c. A.D. 472.² Seng-chao, a disciple of Kumārajīva, referred in his *Wei-mo-chie suo shu ching shu* to the 'King of the Yüeh-Chih' in place of the *chen-t'an* of Kumārajīva.³

Lévi demonstrated that *chen-t'an* and *chan-t'an* were different spellings of the same word,⁴ and took the latter as a royal title of Kanishka. The same scholar pointed out, following Polliot, that the Chinese characters, which had been used to write *chen-t'an*, had also been employed in some other texts to transcribe the Sanskrit name *chandana*, i.e. sandal.⁵ Lévi thought that the word *chandana* was also the Indian original of the name Sandanes appearing in the *Periplus*, and that the latter name should be connected with the title *chen-t'an*, *chan-t'an*. This would indicate that 'Sandanes' should denote Chan-t'an Kanishka.⁶

Lévi took the word represented by *chan-t'an* in Chinese as a title used by the Kushānas. He also thought that both the forms *chan-t'an* and Sandan(es) had *ān* as the final element, which as the genitive plural in middle Iranian was used to be added to the name of a spot (country, mountain, river, etc.) in order to form an ethnic name. Hence, the base of both the forms would be *Chandān(a)*, and the stem of the latter would be *Chand(a)*.

Chanda in Prakrit means 'moon' and its corresponding form in Sanskrit is *chandra*.⁷ The latter word probably appeared as *Chen-t'o* before the name of Kanishka (ki-eul) in the preface of the *Seng-chia-lo-ch'a so chi ching*, a Chinese translation of Saṅgharaksha's *Life of the Buddha*, done by Saṅghabhūti in c. A.D. 384.⁸ According to Lévi, the same *Chandra* epithet of Kanishka is indicated by a verse in the Tibetan version of the *Mahārāja-Kanika-lekha*.⁹

In the title *Chandra* Lévi saw an allusion to the expression *Yüeh-chih*, which literally meant *Chandravanśa* or 'Lunar family'. Hence, Chan-t'an Kanishka stood for *Chand(r)ān(a)* Kanishka, and denoted Kanishka, the monarch of the Yüeh-chih, and Sandanes of the *Periplus* should be identified with a Yüeh-chih king, especially with Kanishka I, to whom alone, among the Yüeh-chih of the early Christian centuries, the title was known to have been ascribed.¹⁰

According to Lévi, the official annals such as the *Hou Han-shu* and the *Wei-lüeh* support the idea of the Kushāna occupation of South India.

¹ *J.A.*, 1936, Vol. CCXXVIII, p. 81; *J.A.*, 1896, s. IX, Vol. VIII, pp. 446, 469 and 472; *Nanjio*, 1329; *Taisho Tripitaka*, p. 203, Ch. VIII, p. 484, 1 f. Zürcher wants to place the date of the translation in c. A.D. 472 (*PCDK*, Zürcher's article, p. 15). The name of the Indian original of this Chinese translation was, according to Lévi, *Samaṃkta-ratna-putaka-sūtra* (*J.A.*, 1896, s. IX, Vol. VIII, p. 446).

² *Ibid.*, 1936, Vol. CCXXVIII, p. 81; *J.A.*, 1896, s. IX, Vol. VII, pp. 447 and 476; *Nanjio*, 1340; *Taisho Tripitaka*, 2058, Ch. V, p. 315.2.5 f. Zürcher wants to place the date of translation in c. A.D. 470 (*PCDK*, Zürcher's article, p. 16). Lévi doubtfully reconstructed the name of the Indian original as *Śrī Dharma-putaka-nidāna-sūtra* (*J.A.*, 1896, s. IX, Vol. VIII, p. 447).

³ *Ibid.*, 1927, pt. II, p. 229; *Tok.* XXX, 2.41a.

⁴ *J.A.*, 1936, Vol. CCXXVIII, pp. 79 ff.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 80 and 83; *BEFEO*, Vol. III, p. 253, n.

⁶ *J.A.*, 1936, Vol. CCXXVIII, pp. 76 and 84.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 85-86.

⁸ *BEFEO*, Vol. III, p. 254, n.

⁹ Vers. 83 in the *Rgyal po chen po ka ni ka la sprins paḥi hphrin yig*, the Tibetan version of the *Mahārāja-Kanika-lekha*. Its author Mātricheṣa wrote this to Kanika, whom we identify with Kanishka I (see F.N. 7 on p. 88). See also *J.A.*, 1936, Vol. CCXXVIII, p. 86; *ibid.*, 1903, pp. 345-60).

¹⁰ *J.A.*, 1936, Vol. CCXXVIII, p. 87 (see also F.N. 4 on p. 89).

The first of the passages concerned, occurring in Chapter CXVIII of the former text, may be translated as follows:

'The country of Tung-li has for its capital the city of Sha-ch'i; it is more than 3,000 (li) to the south-east of T'ien-chu; it is a large country. The climate and products of the country are the same as those of T'ien-chu. It has several tens of cities of the first order, the (chiefs of which) call themselves "king". The great Yüeh-chih attacked the kingdom and enslaved it. The men and women are all eight feet tall; but they are cowardly and weak. Mounted on elephants or camels, they go in and come (from) the neighbouring kingdoms; when attacked, they mount upon elephants to fight.'¹

The other relevant passage is from the *Wei-lüeh*, and can be translated as follows:

'The country of Chü-li is also called Li-wei-t'o or again P'ei-li-wang; it lies more than 3,000 li to the south-east of T'ien-chu. The country is low, humid and warm. The king has for the capital the city of Sha-ch'i. It (the country) has dozens (literally "more than tens") of other cities; the people are cowardly and weak. The Yüeh-chih and the T'ien-chu have attacked and subdued (the country). This territory is several thousands of li from east to west and from north to south. Among the people, the men and women are all eighteen feet tall. The people mount on elephants and camels to fight. Now (i.e. at present) the Yüeh-chih have enslaved (them) and they have imposed taxes (upon them), (or, at present the Yüeh-chih have made them subject and tributary to themselves).'²

Both these passages obviously describe the same country, as Lévi recognized. After dismissing the reading *Chü-li* as a scribal error for *Tung-li*, the two variant Chinese characters being similar, Lévi entered upon an examination of three forms, *Tung-li*, *Li-wei-t'o* and *P'ei-li-wang*. He took the first two forms as the results of different attempts at transcribing a name difficult to pronounce in Chinese, and thought that *Tung-li Li-wei-t'o* = *Toñ-ri-(ri)vi-da* would indicate one indigenous name denoting South India, *Dravida*. He pointed out that in Indian and Chinese texts different forms of this name appeared.³

Lévi added that *P'ei-li* of *P'ei-li-wang* might represent the last two syllables of *Dravida*, viz. *vida*, or might be connected with the title *Vila-(vāyakura)* appearing on certain coins from the Kolhapur district. The latter title, Lévi observed, was ascribed to Vāsishṭhīputra and Gautamīputra.⁴ The same scholar did not propose any identification of Sha-ch'i, and admitted that it much resembled the Chinese transcription of the name of the northern city of Sāketa. However, he pointed out that due

¹ This is a new translation. For Lévi's translation, which is not materially different from that of ours, see *ibid.*, p. 88. See also *TP*, 1907, s. II, Vol. VIII; *PCDK*, Zürcher's article, p. 6. For the Chinese text see *HHS*, Ch. 118, p. 106.

² This is a new translation. For Lévi's translation, which is not materially different from that of ours, see *JA*, 1936, Vol. 228, p. 88; see also *TP*, 1905, p. 551; *PCDK*, Zürcher's article, p. 8. For the Chinese text consult P'ei Sung-chih's commentary on the *Sun-kuo-chih* and see the section containing a commentary on the *Wei-chih*, Ch. 30, p. 296 (Po-na edition).

Lévi also referred to the description of another kingdom, called P'an-yüeh, mentioned in the *Wei-lüeh*. However, he did not draw any conclusion from it (*JA*, 1936, Vol. CCXXVIII, pp. 88-89).

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 91-92. Lévi observed in this connection that in Europe two forms of the name for South India gained currency. These are *Dravid(a)* and *Tamīl*. It would be difficult, the same scholar observed, to find out the 'original' designation (*ibid.*, p. 89).

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 90.

to some error the latter city was placed by Ptolemy in the region of the Western Ghats, and inquired into the possibility of a similar mistake resulting in its appearance as the capital of South India in the Chinese source.¹

On the basis of these observations Lévi concluded that the two passages in question indicated the Yüeh-chih conquest of South India. As he placed the date of information for the passage in the *Hou Han-shu* some time between A.D. 25 and 125 or 170, he thought that the Yüeh-chih were masters of South India for a certain period between those dates.²

Lévi thus tried to prove the authority of Sandanes = Chen-t'an = Kanishka I over at least a great part of the Deccan and in order to substantiate his case made an attempt to demonstrate the probability of the conquests of the Yüeh-chih in South India.

This elaborate theory is partly supported by R. Ghirshman³ and vigorously upheld by A. Banerji-Sastri.⁴ The former believes in Lévi's conclusions based on the testimony of Ptolemy, but considers the above extracts from the *Periplus*, the *Hou Han-shu* and the *Wei-lüeh* as indicating V'ima's rule over a part of South India.⁵

A. Banerji-Sastri observes that Kanishka I belonged to the little Yüeh-chih group and that the latter moved from Arachosia and over the Brahui mountain into the Lower Indus region and thence to Surāshtra and Lāta. The sources cited by Lévi suggest Kanishka I's authority over Larike (=Lāta) and Ariake, which Banerji-Sastri takes to mean the Surāshtra-Mālava region. The same scholar believes that Kanishka I extended his power to Mathura and Banaras from Mālava and that Chastana was left as the Kshatrapa over the territory from Sind to Mālava. He also suggests that king Chandanapāla, whom Tāranātha placed in Aparānta (i.e. North Konkan), was the *pāla* or governor of Chan-t'an Kanishka I, the master of Barygaza and littoral Konkan. Banerji-Sastri seems to be inclined to identify this Chandanapāla with Chashtana, which was not advocated by Lévi.⁶

The array of testimonies in favour of the theory of Kanishka I's hegemony over at least a great part of the North-Western Deccan is apparently impressive.

However, a critical analysis shows some flaws in Lévi's arguments and conclusions. These demand that the stem of Sandanes as well as the original of *Chen-t'an/Chan-t'an* was *Chandān*, that the latter was the genitive plural of *Chanda* (*Chandra* = *Chen-t'o*), and that *Chandān* was used as an epithet of Kanishka I during his lifetime. But it is difficult to believe that the stem of the Greek nominative singular Sandanes was the Iranian genitive plural *Chandān*. Again, it is not necessary to think that both *Chen-t'an/Chan-t'an* and *Chen-t'o* represented the same word, even if the Chinese forms in each case were transliterations of some epithet

¹ *JA*, 1936, Vol. CCXXVIII, pp. 90-92; *Ptolemy*, VII, 1, 71.

² *Ibid.*, p. 92. Lévi followed Chavannes about the date of the information given in the passage in question (*TP*, 1907, s. II, Vol. VIII, p. 150).

³ *Bégram*, p. 145.

⁴ *IHQ*, Vol. XII, pp. 211-17; see also J. N. Banerjea, *Com. His. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 237, and L. Malleret, *L'Archéologie du Delta du Mekong*, Vol. III—*La Culture du Fou-Nan*, *Publications de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient*, Vol. XLIII, pp. 362-71. F. W. Thomas was inclined, though not with much confidence, to see in Sandanes a reference to Kanishka I (*NIA*, Vol. VII, No. 5, pp. 95-96).

⁵ *Bégram*, pp. 135 and n. 4 and 145.

⁶ The evidence of Tāranātha was also cited by Lévi (*JA*, 1936, Vol. CCXXVIII, p. 83). However, he did not take Chandanapāla as Kanishka I's governor.

ascribed to Kanishka I.¹ For these Chinese terms may denote separate words, either having the same meaning, or even having different denotations.

H. W. Bailey has shown that in a manuscript from Tun-huang, now in Paris, the word *chadrra*, i.e. *chandra*, occurs before the name of Kanishka I both in the Sanskrit and the Khotanese portions of a Khotanese Saka legend of Kanishka I's stūpa and vihāra.² The same scholar has also traced in the Iranian language of Khotan a word **chadana* indicating 'brilliant', 'shining', 'ornamented', etc., and has pointed out that 'shining' can also be one of the meanings denoted by the expression *chandra* in Sanskrit.³ Bailey has again proved that the Khotanese *chadana* is a modification of an older **tchandana*-, which in turn will be an old Iranian **čandana*-.⁴ An intermediary form between **tchandana* and *chadana* may have been **chandana*.

Many of the speakers of the Khotanese language in question must have been familiar with Sanskrit. *Chandra* in the former may have been a loan word taken from the latter; or at least it is certain that *Chandra* of the phrase *Chandra-Kanishka*, appearing in the Sanskrit and the Khotanese versions of the same legend, must have the same meaning in both cases, viz. 'shining' or 'moon'. It is quite probable that both Iranian *chandana* and Sanskrit *chandra* were familiar from an early time in the extreme north-west of the Indian sub-continent and Afghanistan, the meeting place of the Iranian and Indian languages and once a part of the Kushāṇa empire. And both Indian *chandra* and Iranian *chandana* have a common denotation, viz. 'shining'. So the Chinese *Chen-t'an/Chan-t'an* and *Chen-t'o* may be transliterations respectively of these *chandana* and *chandra*.⁵ Moreover, since both the Chinese forms denote, as has been shown by Lévi, one and the same person, viz. Kanishka I, and since their respective originals have some common import, the natural, though not certain, conclusion will be to take that common connotation as the meaning intended by both.

Thus *Chen-t'an/Chan-t'an* < *Chandana* and *Chan-t'o* < *Chandra*, appearing in connection with Kanishka I, may mean 'shining', and have no connection, as was supposed by Lévi, with the word Yüeh-chih.

The questions now awaiting our attention are whether *Chen-t'an/Chan-t'an* < *Chandana* and *Chen-t'o* < *Chandra* were used before the name of Kanishka I during his lifetime, and if this was so, whether they were so well known as to denote this king even when they were not accompanied by his name. It is difficult to answer either question in the affirmative. For *Chan-t'an* occurs in the Chinese versions of works, translated, as we have seen, long after any possible date for Kanishka I. And again the original of none of them, with the possible exception of one, can be traced.

This exception is the work called the *Ta chuan-yen lun ching*. Lévi, as we have seen, took it to be a translation of the *Sūtrālaṅkāra-śāstra* of Aśvaghosha. But Luders proved, on the basis of the evidence of some fragments of the Sanskrit *Kalpanāmaṇḍīkā* of Kumāralāta, found in

¹ For the reasons suggesting the probability of committing an error in proposing a genitive plural *chandān(a)* in order to join *Chandana* with *Chandra*, see *BSOAS*, Vol. XIII, p. 927, n. 1.

² H. W. Bailey, *Khotanese Texts*, Vol. II, pp. 201 ff.; *BSOAS*, Vol. XIII, pp. 926-30; *PCDK*, H. W. Bailey's article, pp. 1-2.

³ *BSOAS*, Vol. XIII, pp. 927-29.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 928.

⁵ See also *ibid.*, pp. 929-30.

Eastern Turkestan, that the latter was the original of the Chinese translation in question.¹ In the translation occurs in one passage the phrase *Chen-t'an Chia-ni-cha*² exactly where in the original appears *Kula-tilaka-Kanishka*.³ Here *Kula-tilaka* is not translated into the Chinese language, but is replaced by *Chen-t'an*. Though we admit that the change may be to an extent due to the similarity in meaning—*tilaka*, denoting 'ornament' and 'ornamented' being one of the connotations of *Chen-t'an* < *Chandana*⁴—the fact remains that the work of Kumāralāta, which may have been composed or completed shortly after Kanishka I,⁵ does not furnish the term *Chandana* as an epithet for Kanishka I. And we cannot deny the possibility of the same having been the case with other translations. Moreover, the form *Chen-t'o* occurs, as we have seen, only in a preface to a Chinese translation, made long after any possible date for Kanishka I.

The word *chandra* no doubt appears in the Tibetan version (*Rgyal . po . chen . po . ka . ni . ka . la . sprins . pañi . hphrin . yig*) of the *Mahārāja-Kanika-lekha* of Mātricheṭa, a contemporary of king Kanika of the Kuśa race,⁶ identifiable with the Kushāna monarch Kanishka I.⁷ The verse

¹ H. Lüders, *Bruchstücke der Kalpanāmanditika des Kumāralāta*, pp. 19 and 26.

² *Taisho Tripitaka*, No. 201, pp. 1, 19, 287.

³ H. Lüders, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

⁴ *BSOAS*, Vol. XIII, p. 930.

⁵ According to the *T'sa pao-tsang ching*, Kanishka (I) (Chi-ni-cha) and Aśvaghosha (Ma-ming) were contemporaries (*Taisho Tripitaka*, No. 203, Ch. VII, p. 484). Again, it appears from the *Ta T'ang Ta Tzu-en-ssu San-tsang-fa-shih-chuan* that Aśvaghosha and Kumāralābha = Kumāralāta lived in the same age (S. Beal, *Life of Hiuen-Tsang*, p. 199; M. Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*, Vol. II, p. 243; T. Watters, *On Yuan Chawang's Travels in India*, Vol. I, pp. 5–6). Thus Kumāralāta should have been more or less a contemporary of Kanishka I. On the other hand, two stories (Nos. 14 and 31) of his *Kalpanāmanditika* refer to Kanishka (I) (Chia-ni-cha) as a king of a past age, and so that work seems to have been composed, or at least completed, after the death of that king. These apparently contradictory testimonies can be reconciled only by assuming that the work in question was composed or completed shortly after the end of Kanishka I's rule.

⁶ *IA*, Vol. XXXII, p. 348.

⁷ The *Mahārāja-Kanika-lekha* refers King Kanika to the Kuśa race (V. 49). The *Ta chuang-yen lun ching* describes Chia-ni-cha (Kanishka I) as a monarch among the Chū-sha race. These testimonies and also the fact that Kop seems to be the stem of the form Kopano appearing on the Kushāna coins definitely indicate that Kanika of the *Mahārāja-Kanika-lekha* was a Kushāna sovereign.

According to Al Bīrūnī, the vihāra at Peshawar was built by Kanik (E. C. Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, Vol. II, p. 11). The Shah-ji-ki Dheri inscription of Kanishka I shows that this Buddhist establishment was created during the reign of Kanishka I (*UII*, Vol. II, pt. I, p. 137). This should indicate that Kanishka I was also known as Kanika.

No doubt, Tāranātha distinguished Kanika, to whom Mātricheṭa sent an epistle (= *Mahārāja-Kanika-lekha*), from Kanishka, apparently the same as Kanishka I [Schiefner, *Tāranātha* (text), pp. 70–72; Schiefner, *Tāranātha* (translation), pp. 890–92; *IA*, Vol. XXXII, p. 348]. But the value of Tāranātha's evidence in question is tempered by his very late date (c. A.D. 1608). Moreover, he appears to contradict known history.

Tāranātha refers to Kanika apparently as the first member of his family to rule in Mālwa (Schiefner, *Tāranātha* (text), p. 70; Schiefner, *Tāranātha* (translation), p. 89). This Kanika, to whom Mātricheṭa addressed his famous letter, was, as noted above, a Kushāna. And a part of Mālwa was incorporated in the Kushāna empire during the reign of Kanishka I. At least this is indicated by the facts that the Vasku-shāna or Vāsishka Kushāna's inscription of the year 22, most probably of the Kanishka Era, was discovered at Sanchi in Mālwa, and that Kanishka I ruled up to the year 23 of his era, if not more (*PIHC*, 1944, p. 135; *BSOAS*, Vol. XV, p. 977; B. N. Mukherjee, *Studies in Kushāna Genealogy and Chronology*, Ch. II, *in press*).

Thus Tāranātha was wrong in distinguishing Kanika from Kanishka. The known facts suggest the identity of Kanika of the *Mahārāja-Kanika-lekha* with Kanishka I.

(No. 83) in question, addressed to Kanika (= Kanishka I), can be quoted as follows :

'gnod . bgyid . ñi . ma . ltar . rño . ma . thogs . pas/
sa . bdag . zla . ba . zla . ba . bzin . du . mdzod.'¹

The following is a possible translation .

'Since we cannot look upon the hurtful sun,
Act, O moon of (i.e. among) kings, like a moon.'²

Here we have an example of poetic fancy, and the comparison of a celebrity with a luminary is a well-known feature in Indian poetics. So this verse by itself cannot establish that in Mātricheta's time *Chandra* was regularly used as an epithet for Kanika = Kanishka I.³

Thus we cannot prove that *Chandana* or *Chandra* was a well-known epithet of Kanishka I in his own days. And so there cannot be any question of the epithet's denoting by itself the Kushāna king during the latter's lifetime. It is possible that *Chen-t'an/Chan-t'an* and *Chen-t'o*, which appear to be transliterations and not translations of some non-Chinese words, did not occur in the Sanskrit originals, and that they represented some epithets of Kanishka I current at the time of rendering those works into Chinese. Can we suggest that some time after Kanishka I's death, when memory of his great zeal for Buddhism had been spun into the threads of the Buddhist legends, he began to be given the title *Chandra* by Indian or Indianized Buddhists and *Chandana* by Buddhists under the influence of an Iranian language?⁴ Both the titles having probably the same meaning were used to denote the brilliance and splendour of Kanishka I, the very ornament of the Yüeh-chih tribe.

In any case, it cannot be proved that the epithet *Chen-t'an/Chan-t'an* < *Chandana* could by itself denote Kanishka I during the latter's lifetime,

¹ *Mahārāja-Kanika-lekha*, v. 83; *IA*, Vol. XXXII, p. 360.

² *Ibid.*

³ It may be noted here that Dr. R. C. Majumdar once suggested that king Chandra of Meharauli inscription should be identified with Chandra Kanishka I (*JASB*, s. III, Vol. IX, pp. 179-83). But the palaeographic evidence is very much against the ascription of the epigraph to the age of Kanishka I. Again, Chandra of Meharauli inscription appears to have Vaishṇava leanings (*SI*, p. 277), and so such an identification implies Vaishṇava affinities also on the part of Kanishka I. Of this, however, we have no evidence.

⁴ See also *BSOAS*, Vol. XIII, pp. *929-30. It is interesting to note that the Sahri Bahlol seal inscription of the Kushāna king Kanishka III, to be dated in or after A.D. 198 (*Numismatic Chronicle*, 1955, pl. XV, No. 1; *Summary of Papers*, XXVI *International Congress of Orientalists*, 1964, p. 171), describes the king concerned as *Maho*, which may remind one of the term *Mao* (*Māh*) appearing on several Kushāna coins and denoting 'moon' (*JA*, 1958, Vol. CCLXVI, p. 424). The Sanskrit word for moon is *chandra*. If *Maho* really denotes moon, *chandra* may have been an epithet of this Kanishka III. And since, as indicated by Lévi, the expression Yüeh-chih literally means 'the lunar family', the phrase *Maho Kaneshko* may associate Kushāna Kanishka III with the Yüeh-chih race, to which all Kushāna kings belonged.

However, even if we accept the term *Maho* = *Mao* = *Moon* = *Chandra* as an epithet of Kanishka III, we cannot prove that the same title was used by Kanishka I himself. (We may point out here that W. B. Henning has wrongly identified the king in question with Kanishka I, *ZDMG*, Vol. CXV, p. 85.) Moreover, the word *chen-t'o* < *chandra*, appearing before the name Kanishka I in a Chinese treatise, probably denotes 'shining', and not 'moon'.

It may also be noted here that Lévi was wrong in observing that Kanishka I was the only Yüeh-chih king of early Christian centuries with whom the title *chandra* was associated. The same title, though probably bearing a different connotation, seems to have been used by Kanishka III himself. We must, however, concede that the Sahri Bahlol inscription was noticed long after the death of Lévi.

but Sandanes of the *Periplus*, as the passage from the text quoted above shows, appears to have been alive when either the author himself or his informant collected his information. Hence, if the basis of the name 'Sandanes' was *Chandan* (or *Chandana*), he was known as such, unlike Kanishka I, during his own lifetime. This chronological difficulty must be proved wrong before one can wish to see in Sandanes an epithet for Kanishka I.

We can bring forward more serious objections against Lévi's proposed identification. Sections 41 to 50 of the *Periplus* are devoted mostly to the description of Barygaza and some political as well as geographical areas connected with it. The next section, 51, refers to articles from Paethana (modern Paithan near Aurangabad)¹ and Tagara (Ter in the Osmanabad district²) being brought to Barygaza through tracts difficult to traverse. It is noteworthy that here the articles from Paithan and Ter are said to have been brought to Barygaza, whereas in normal circumstances it would have been natural for the traders to bring them from these two inland towns to Kalyāṇa (modern Kalyan near Bombay) through the Nanaghat Pass. The reason for this unusual practice seems to be explained by the information given in the next section 52. It is told here that during the days of Sandanes, Calliene (Kalyāṇa) was blockaded and the incoming ships were diverted to Barygaza. This crisis in the commerce of Kalyan obliged the traders to take their goods from inner towns of the Deccan to Broach. And it is certain that the ruler of Barygaza had a hand in this political crisis. There must have been estranged relations between him or his predecessor and the king who held Kalyāṇa when it began to be blockaded for the first time.

The latter monarch, as it appears from the passage in section 52 of the *Periplus* quoted above, was one of the successors of Saraganus, i.e. Sātakaṛṇi, and hence probably a Sātavāhana. The ruler of Barygaza, referred to in section 41, was Manbanus, i.e. Nahapāna.³ The latter is known from other sources to have been an enemy of the Sātavāhanas.⁴ So he may well have been the ruler of Barygaza when Kalyāṇa was blockaded.

This identification seems to be justifiable, as the *Periplus* does not speak of any other master of Barygaza either in section 52 or elsewhere. And as Sandanes and Manbanus-Nahapāna were contemporaries, the dates of the data given in sections 41-52 should be placed at approximately the same time. Hence the reference in section 47 in connection with the commerce of Barygaza to 'the warlike nation of the Bactrians' living above the countries of the Arattii, of the Arachosii, of the Gandaraei and of the people of Proclais, should also be ascribed to about the same date.

The latter information seems to confine the Indian possessions of the Bactrians to the extreme north-western parts of that country.⁵ These Bactrians have been identified with the Kushāṇas.⁶ If this is so, Kanishka I, who had a great part of North India under him, could not possibly have been ruling at the time when this information of the *Periplus* was gathered. And since Sandanes was in Kalyan in the Western Deccan when this news about the Kushāṇas was received, it would be impossible to identify Sandanes with Kanishka I. If Sunandana of a list of the Andhra

¹ Schoff, *Periplus*, p. 195.

² *JRAS*, 1901, pp. 537-52.

³ *JA*, 1961, Vol. CCLXIX, pp. 456-57.

⁴ *CCADWK*, pp. xlvii f. and lxxxix.

⁵ By the term *India* we mean the Indian subcontinent.

⁶ W. W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, p. 148, n. 4.

= Sātavāhana) kings furnished by the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*¹ is a historical figure, he may be identified with Sandanes.²

Moreover, we cannot support the identification of either Kanishka³ I or Sandanes with the name *Sandanorum*. For the term Sandanes is a nominative singular and so can mean only a single person; and the same is the case with the name Kanishka. On the other hand, the form *Sandanorum* is a genitive plural, and should denote more than one person called *Sandana*. It may denote a people, tribe or family. In India such names were often used in the plural. It should also be remembered that several variants of the form *Sandano(rum)* occur in different manuscripts and so we cannot be absolutely sure of the form of the original Indian word. Again, of these alternative forms—*Sandano(rum)* and *Sadano(rum)* in the Latin versions and *Saden(on)*, *Sadan(on)*, *Sadin(on)*, *A'din(on)*, *A'dan(on)*, *Aden(on)* and *A'den(on)* in the Greek versions⁴—some have as the initial syllable *a* or *a'* in place of *sa*. As such a feature can be noticed in quite a few fairly old manuscripts coming from different sources, the forms beginning with the letter *a* or *a'* may have been used by the author himself or by an earlier scribe or scribes knowing the alternative renderings of the same name.⁵ If this was the case, the first letter of the name in question could be written either as *sa* or as *a* or as *a'*.

This would have been quite probable in the case of proper names from the Western Deccan, where we have contemporary examples of initial *sa* being either dropped or changed into *ha*. Thus the *Periplus* has *Ouppara*, i.e. Opara, instead of *Sopārā*⁶ and some Sātavāhana coins from Western India give the name *Sātakani* as *Hātakani*.⁷ Even now the people of the Bassein district change the initial *sa* into *ha* or drop it.⁸ Thus the name in question originally began with *sa*, though this was occasionally changed into *ha* or dropped by the speakers of some dialects of the Western Deccan.

We should now consider the fact that Ptolemy included within the section concerning *Ariake Sadinon* many places which, taken together, should have covered a great part of the Western Deccan.⁹ As he expressly stated that he derived much of his information from traders coming from an emporium,¹⁰ identifiable with a port in the North-Western Deccan,¹¹ his knowledge of that region might not be hopelessly out-of-date. Hence the powerful royal family of the North-Western Deccan, whose name began with *sa*, should have been ruling in that area well within a century

¹ DKA, p. 41, n. 83; CCADWK, p. lxvii.

² McCrindle assumed *Sadineis* [sic] as the name of a dynasty and wanted to connect it with Sandanes of the *Periplus*. Earlier Lassen had noted that *Sadanes* should correspond to *sādhana* meaning 'completion' or 'a perfecter' and also 'an agent' or 'a representative'. See McCrindle, *Ptolemy*, pp. 39–40.

³ Renou, *Ptolemy*, p. 3, n.

⁴ Three of such manuscripts belong to the fourteenth century and three others to the fifteenth century. And as the form *Sandanorum* cannot be found in manuscripts ascribable to any age prior to the fourteenth century A.D., our suggestion about the change of form in an early period cannot be lightly brushed aside (see Renou, *Ptolemy*, pp. vi–viii, and 3, n.). In different versions of the Bible also we find different forms of the same name. Thus Ophir of the Hebrew Bible is written as *Sopherā* in the Septuagint Version.

⁵ *Periplus*, sec. 52.

⁶ CCADWK, p. 45.

⁷ *Journal of the Bombay Historical Society*, Vol. I, p. 72.

⁸ *Ptolemy*, VII, I, pp. 6 and 82.

⁹ *Ibid.*, I, XVII, p. 3.

¹⁰ McCrindle, *Ptolemy*, pp. 42–43.

before the date of Ptolemy's information. Such conditions could be fulfilled only by the Sātavāhana royal family.

As there are many variants of the name in question, we cannot definitely determine the Indian word on which was based the name appearing in Ptolemy's original manuscript. We may, however, offer a suggestion. The word *Sātavāhana* or its possible variant *Ātavāhana* may be corrupted in Prākṛit as *Sātāhana* or *Ātāhana*. Actually there occurs in a record the form *Sātāhani* in place of *Sātavāhani*.¹ It should also be remembered that we have cases of *ta* being changed into *da* in the legends of the Sātavāhana coins.² So we can obtain the forms *Sādāhana* and *Ādāhana*. Again, as *Sāta* (of *Sātakarṇi*) has been sometimes changed into *Sāti* in the legend of the same series of coins,³ the alternative corrupted forms of *Sātavāhana* and *Ātavāhana* can be respectively *Sādihana* and *Ādihana*. If we now remember that in Greek and Latin texts sometimes a syllable is dropped or added in transcribing an Indian word,⁴ it will be possible to take *Sādāhana* as the stem of the forms *Sandano(rum)*, *Sadano(rum)* and *Sadan(on)*, and to assume *Sādihana* as the stem of *Sadin(on)*. Similarly *Ādāhana* can be assumed as the stem of *Adan(on)*, and *Ādihana* may be that of *Adin(on)* and *Aden(on)*. Here the syllable *ha* seems to have been dropped in all cases and a superfluous *n* has been brought as in the case of *Sandano(rum)*. One of these four Indian forms was probably the prototype of the word written by Ptolemy. A knowledgeable scribe or scribes of the early Christian centuries made use of the other Indian forms.⁵

Whether our interpretations of the forms *Sandano(rum)*, *Adinon*, etc., are acceptable or not, we have demonstrated the futility of connecting Kanishka I with any of these names. We should now try to examine the evidence culled by Lévi from Chinese sources. A comparison between the two passages quoted by Lévi convinces one that the descriptions of the country given in both of them have come from one common source. The information about the Yüeh-chih conquests in India furnished by the *Hou Han-shu* was derived from Pan Yung's report prepared in c. A.D. 125.⁶ The same source may well have been consulted by the author of the *Wei-lüeh*, who wrote his book some time between A.D. 239 and 265.⁷ He, however, ascribed to the country in question three names which do not appear in the *Hou Han-shu*. And as the author of the latter followed Pan Yung regarding the description of this country he would have mentioned these three names appearing in the *Wei-lüeh* if they had occurred

¹ Hirahadagalli inscription of the early Pallava ruler Śivaskandavarman, 1.27. (*EI*, Vol. I, pp. 5 f.).

² M. Rama Rao, *List of Published Sātavāhana Coins*, p. 1.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 185.

⁴ Baleokouros (VII, I, 82) of Ptolemy's *Geography* evidently stands for Vīlī-vāyakura of coins (*CCADWK*, pp. 13 f.). Here the syllable *va* has been dropped.

The word *Palimbothra*, which appears in different classical texts, is surely to be related to the name *Pāṭaliputra*. Here the sound *m* has been added and the syllable *ta* is dropped.

⁵ Ptolemy places Baithano (i.e. Paithan), the capital of Ptolemaios, in Ariake (VII, I, 82). This Ptolemaios can be identified with Puṣumāvi, a name shared by a few monarchs of the Sātavāhana dynasty. Thus our suggestion for associating Ariake Sadinon with the Sātavāhanas gains further strength.

⁶ *TP*, 1907, s. II, Vol. VIII, p. 168; *HHS*, Ch. 118; B. N. Mukherjee, *The Lower Indus Country, A.D. 1-150*, Book I, Ch. II (*in press*).

⁷ *TP*, 1905, s. II, Vol. VI, pp. 519-20.

in Pan Yung's report. Hence the author of the *Wei-lüeh* seems to have consulted some other source in addition to Pan Yung's report. But as the latter is the earliest of the Chinese sources regarding the Yüeh-chih victories in India, its information about their conquest of the country in question should be more trustworthy than that given in any other Chinese source.

Thus we believe that Tung-li was the name of the country when it was invaded by the Yüeh-chih. Actually, the author of the *Wei-lüeh* may have used the same name, if we take, following Lévi, *Chü-li* as a scribal error for *Tung-li*, the Chinese characters for *Tung* and *Chü* being very similar. Lévi's attempt to connect Tung-li with Li-wei-t'e in order to equate the resultant form with *Draviḍa*, however, seems to be rather arbitrary. For the author of the *Wei-lüeh* never indicates that these two are parts of one name. Again, though it may be difficult to express the name *Draviḍa* in Chinese, there is no definite reason to believe that these two Chinese forms are different attempts to achieve that difficult task. Whether *P'ei-li* of the third name *P'ei-li-wang* stands for *viḍa* of *Draviḍa* is a moot point and cannot be proved or disproved. It is, however, very unlikely that *P'ei-li* has any connection with *Viḷivāyakura* (wrongly spelt by Lévi as *Vilavāyakura*). For the name of *Viḷivāyakura*, which is known from coins of the Kolhapur region, has nothing to do with either *Draviḍa* or with Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi and Vasīṣṭhiputra Puḷumāvi, the lords of the Deccan, and belongs to a different family of the Western Deccan.¹

There are other insuperable difficulties in accepting Lévi's suggestion. He seems never to have realized that even if his identifications of names in classical sources with those in Chinese were correct, one set of evidence would place the Kushāṇas in the Deccan, and the other would locate them in *Draviḍa*, the Tamil country or the Far South.

In the first or second century A.D. *Draviḍa* probably meant only the southernmost portions of India and not the Deccan.² Again, the *Wei-lüeh* locates Tung-li between T'ien-chu and P'an-yüeh (also known as Han-Yüeh-wang).³ The latter name, as Pelliot showed convincingly, should denote Vaṅga kingdom (i.e. part of undivided Bengal).⁴ If this is so, T'ien-chu cannot here denote the whole of India and should be taken in its narrower sense. We have suggested elsewhere that Shen-tu or T'ien-chu of Pan Yung's report incorporated regions on both sides of the Lower Indus.⁵ Consequently, the Tung-li country should be placed somewhere in Northern India, and not in the south. Moreover, the impression that the people of Tung-li were of high stature, even though the exact height given in the *Hou Han-shu* is evidently an exaggeration and that given in the *Wei-lüeh* a mistake, should point to the men of the north rather than those of the Dravidian South.⁶ And, finally, camels, used for communications in Tung-li, are never known to have served such purposes in the south.⁷

Sha-Ch'i, the capital of Tung-li itself, can be identified, as Thomas showed,⁸ with Sa(sha)geda, i.e. Sāketa near Ayodhyā in modern Fyzabad

¹ *AIU*, p. 211; *JNSI*, Vol. XVII, pt. I, pp. 58 ff.

² *Periplus*, sec. 53; *Ptolemy*, VII, I, 8, etc.

³ See the section containing the commentary on the *Wei-chih* (Ch. 30, p. 29b), in the Po-na edition of the *San-kuo Chih*.

⁴ *BEFEO*, Vol. VI, pp. 371-73, n. 2.

⁵ B. N. Mukherjee, *The Lower Indus Country, c. A.D. 1-150*, Book I, Ch. II (in press).

⁶ *NIA*, Vol. VII, No. 5, p. 90.

⁷ *Ibid.*, ⁸ *Ibid.*

district. Lévi's suggestion that the Chinese, like Ptolemy, may have wrongly transplanted this name into Tung-li of the Deccan cannot be entertained for want of definite proof of such mistakes having been committed in the *Hou Han-shu's* (i.e. Pan Yung's) description of India. Hence, it seems certain that Tung-li included *inter alia* the region around Sāketa.

Thomas suggested that the form Tung-li is a translation of an Indian name. He thought that *Tung* should mean 'east', and that *li*, ancient *ljic*, was frequently used for translating a Sanskrit word meaning 'separation' (*bhāga*), especially when compounded with *vi-* (i.e. *vibhāga*). Thus Tung-li could mean *Pūrva-vibhāga* (i.e. *Prāchya-vibhāga* or *Prāg-deśa* or the eastern region). But, probably as he wanted to connect Sha-Ch'i with Sāketa the area of which was included in Indian sources within Madhyadeśa, Thomas tried to devise a new connotation for the term *Pūrva-deśa*. He thought that the accounts of Alexander's annalists would indicate that in his time the whole country from Magadha to the border of the Punjab was under the Prasioi, the Prāchya people. Thomas was inclined to believe that this evidence would indicate that the term *Pūrva-deśa* was popularly used to denote the vast territory just noted.¹

Thomas, however, apparently did not realize that this extension of the territory of the Prāchya people, here standing for the people of Magadha, was a temporary one. The empire of the Nandas of Magadha extended far beyond the natural frontier of the eastern division, and this political geography was reflected in the classical accounts. But in Indian sources *Pūrva-deśa* never included any territory to the west of Prayāga or Allahabad.² And, hence, there is no reason to believe that when the Yüeh-chih came to India Tung-li meant *Pūrva-deśa* in the sense understood by Alexander's annalists. Thus we cannot share Thomas's conception of the meaning of *Tung* of the term *Tung-li*, though we do not object to his interpretation of *li*.

We have actually no definite evidence to determine the Indian original of the Chinese form *Tung*, but we may cite a passage from Ptolemy's *Geography*³ which can be translated as follows:

'The region of this division lying along the course of the Ganges on its eastern side and furthest to the north is inhabited by the Ganganoi, through whose dominions flows the river Sarabos, and who have the following towns:

Sapolos	..	139° 20' 35"	Heorta	..	138° 30' 39"
Storna	..	138° 40' 34-40"	Rhoppha	..	137° 40' 33-40"

The river Sarabos, running through the territory in question, can be identified with the Sarabhū or Sarayū, nowadays the joint streams of the Sarju and the Gogra.⁴ Sha-ch'i Sāketa is considered to have been situated very close to Ayodhyā on the latter river.⁵ Thus Tung-li may have included a region which Ptolemy placed in the territory of the Ganganoi.

This topographical affinity may, however, be purely accidental. The river Sarayū may have flowed through the territory of Tung-li and also

¹ *NIA*, Vol. VII, No. 5, pp. 91-92.

² According to the *Manusmṛitā* (II, 21), Madhyadeśa is to the West of Prayāga, i.e. Allahabad. So the latter was on the western boundary of the eastern division, lying to the east of Madhyadeśa (see *JRAS*, 1904, pp. 83-93). Of all the known limits of the Eastern Country, Prayāga was the westernmost.

³ *Ptolemy*, VII, 2, 13.

⁴ McCrindle, *Ptolemy*, p. 99.

⁵ T. W. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 39.

of the Ganganoi and even the information about Tung-li and the Ganganoi may belong to two different periods. But there are some indications of closer relationship between the names Tung-li and Ganganoi. In one old manuscript of Ptolemy's *Geography* occurs the form *Tānganai* in place of *Ganganoi*.¹ *Gangana* never appears as a tribal name in any Indian source; on the other hand, *Tuṅgana* is the appellation of a fairly well-known people of ancient India.² Hence it appears that *Tanganai* is the correct form of the name of the people intended in Ptolemy's passage in question.³

The scribes of some of the early Greek manuscripts of the *Geography* may have confused tau (*T*) with gamma (*Γ*). Moreover, early copyists, whether of the Greek or Latin version of the *Geography*, may have been encouraged to substitute the *Γ* for *T* by their knowledge of the well-known Indian name *Gāṅgā*, i.e. the Ganges. Again, this name *Tuṅgana*, a variant of *Tangana*, may well be the Indian original of the Chinese *Tung*, as we have examples of Indian words having been transliterated in shortened forms in Chinese during the early Christian centuries.⁴ And if, following Thomas, we take *li* as denoting *vibhāga* or division, then *Tung-li* may mean the 'division of *Tuṅganas* (= *Tānganas*)',⁵ just as Ptolemy refers to the 'division of the *Tanganai* (*Ganganoi*)'. Unfortunately, none of the towns mentioned by Ptolemy in the section concerned can be definitely identified. Nevertheless, it appears, from the description as well as from the difference between the supposed latitude and longitude ascribed to these towns, that Ptolemy wanted to ascribe a large territory to these people. This fact also tallies with the Chinese description of the Tung-li country.

Thomas tried to interpret the terms *Li-wei-t'o* and *P'ei-li-ang* as translations of some designations or descriptions of the country in question.⁶ However, they do not give us any further secure ground for its identification. Nevertheless, in the light of the above discussion we can conclude that Tung-li included the region of *Sāketa* or modern *Ayodhyā* and should be placed in North India.⁷

In this connection we may refer to the Tibetan work, *Li-yul-gyi-loggyus* (*The Annals of the Li Country*), the statements of which about the kings of the Li country (*Khotan*) are generally reliable.⁸ According to one such testimony, 'originally King Kanika,⁹ the King of Gu-zan and

¹ Renou, *Ptolemy*, pp. vi and 51, n.

² For literary references to the *Tuṅganas* or *Tānganas*, see *JUPHS*, Vol. XVII, p. 35. The name of the people in question is spelt as *Tuṅgana* (*Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, LVII, 41) and also as *Tangana* (*Mahābhārata*, III, 141, 24-25).

³ Long ago L. Vivien de Saint Martin proposed to identify the *Ganganoi* with the *Tānganas* (*Étude sur la géographie grecque et latine de l'Inde*, pp. 327-28). However, he did not furnish any reason for such an identification.

⁴ In the *Wei-lueh* *Sha-lu* stands for *Sāriputta* (*TP*, 1905, s. II, Vol. VI, p. 546 and n. 2). In the *Hou Han-shu* *Fo* represents the Buddha (*ibid.*, 1907, p. 194). Since the final vowel of a word is often dropped in the popular North Indian pronunciation, *Tuṅgana* may have been pronounced as *Tung* (+) *gan* (+) *a* and also *Tung* (+) *gan* may have been represented in the Chinese as *Tung*.

⁵ Country of Tung-li should mean country of *Tuṅgana-vibhāga* or *Tuṅgana-deśa*, almost like the present state of Uttar Pradesh (the Northern Province) in modern India.

⁶ *NIA*, Vol. VII, No. 5, p. 92.

⁷ This conclusion rejects J. Kennedy's suggestion that Tung-li may denote Magadha (*JRAS*, 1912, pp. 677-78).

⁸ F. W. Thomas, *Tibetan Literary Texts and Documents Concerning Chinese Turkestan*, pt. I, pp. 74-75.

⁹ The text has *Ka-ni-kahi-rgyal-po*, which has universally been taken to stand for *Ka-ni-ka-rgyal-po*, i.e. 'Kanika, the king' (*ibid.*, p. 119, n. 2; W. M. Rockhill, *The Life of the Buddha*, p. 240, n. 2, etc.).

the Li ruler, King Vijayakirti, and others led an army into India and captured a city named So-ke . . .¹

So-ke of the above passage certainly stands for Sāketa.² King Kanika may also be identified. By the term Kanika, Mātṛicheta probably denoted a Kushāṇa king called Kanishka.³ Kumāralāta referred to the military expedition of Chia-ni-cha of the Chū-sha race,⁴ identified with the Kushāṇa Kanishka I,⁵ into Eastern India. Thus that author indicates Kanishka I's campaigns in India. Epigraphic evidence testifies to Kanishka I's authority over the Sahet-Mahet area,⁶ which lies not far from and to the north-west of the Ayodhyā region, including ancient Sāketa, and so may well have been within the limits of the country of Tung-li. On the other hand, there is no reason to believe that either Kanishka II or III made any military exploits in India. These considerations make, as has already been assumed,⁷ the identification of Kanika of the Tibetan treatise with Kanishka I highly probable. Thus the Yüeh-chih king Kanishka I probably conquered Sāketa. And if the Yüeh-chih are not considered to have twice conquered Sāketa, of which there is no evidence, then it must be admitted that the Chinese sources, referring to the Yüeh-chih conquest of Sa-ch'i = Sāketa, should indicate Kanishka I's victory in that region and probably in the areas lying near it. And herein lies the importance of the Chinese passages cited by Lévi.⁸

Thus the upshot of the whole discussion is that Lévi's arguments about Kanishka I's authority over the Deccan, especially the North-Western Deccan, do not bear scrutiny. The same may be said about the additional arguments put forward by A. Banerji-Sastri in favour of Lévi's conclusion. Banerji-Sastri does not produce any concrete evidence to support his theory about the migration of Kanishka I's family from Arachosia and via the lower Indus region to Surāshtra, Lata, etc. Nor can we take Chashtana as Kanishka I's governor, for we cannot place both of them definitely in the same period.⁹ It is also difficult to believe

¹ *Bstan-hgyur*, Vol. No. 94 in the Mdo (sutra) section, folio No. 436b; F. W. Thomas, *Tibetan Literary Texts and Documents Concerning Chinese Turkestan*, p. 119.

² *Ibid.*, p. 119, n. 2.

³ See F.N. 7 on p. 88.

⁴ *Taisho Tripitaka*, No. 201, Ch. IV, p. 287, l. 19.

⁵ *JA*, 1890, s. IX, Vol. VIII, p. 457.

⁶ H. Luder's *List of Brahmi Inscriptions*, Nos. 918, 919, 925 and 327.

⁷ W. W. Rockhill, *op. cit.*, p. 240, n. 2.

⁸ F. W. Thomas identified Sa-ch'i with Sāketa and Tung-li with Madhyadeśa. He thought that the Buddhist accounts referred to Kanishka I's conquest of Madhyadeśa with its capitals Sāketa and Pātaliputra, and found in the testimonies of Kanishka I's Sahet-Mahet records a proof of his authority over the whole of that country. Hence Thomas concluded that the Chinese passages in question refer to Kanishka I's conquest of Madhyadeśa (*NIA*, Vol. VII, No. 5, pp. 90 and 92). However, we have seen that Tung-li had not necessarily the same limits as those of Madhyadeśa, though the former might have been wholly or partly included within the latter. Hence Thomas's conclusion is not acceptable in its entirety.

⁹ The earliest-known date of Chashtana is the year 52, which is universally ascribed to the Śaka Era of A.D. 78 (*PHAI*, pp. 487 and 506; *CCADWK*, pp. cv f.; *AIU*, p. 182, etc.). On the other hand, the reign of Kanishka I cannot be confidently assigned to c. A.D. 129-30. Kshaharāta Nahapāna of Western India is sometimes considered to have been a governor of a Kushāṇa territory and his known years are often attributed to the Śaka Era (*CCADWK*, pp. cv f.; *PHAI*, pp. 488 f.; *AIU*, p. 179). There is, however, hardly any reason to believe that Nahapāna was a subordinate to the Kushāṇas and that he used the Śaka Era of A.D. 78, which was probably reckoned from the year 1 of Kanishka I's reign. (In this connection see S. Chattopadhyay, *Early History of North India*, pp. 74 f. and 104). We have discussed in *The Lower Indus Country*, c. A.D. 1-150 (*in press*) the problems connected with the relationship between the group of Nahapāna and the family of Chashtana on the

that Chandanapāla of Aparānta, referred to by Tāranātha, was a governor of Kanishka I. For that author seems to have taken the noun *Chandanapāla* as standing for a proper name and not as denoting the *pāla* or governor of Chandana.¹

Thus neither Lévi nor Banerji-Sastri has proved the case. In this connection we may mention a legend referring to a struggle between Kanishka (= Kanishka I?) and a Sātavāhana king, which ended in favour of the former sovereign.² It may be argued that since during the period of Kanishka I the Sātavāhanas definitely had at least a part of the Deccan under them, the struggle in question might have taken place in that area. However, this is not a necessary conclusion. We have suggested elsewhere that if Kanishka I really fought against a Sātavāhana king, he might have done so somewhere outside the Deccan.³

Finally, references may be made to the testimonies of the *Tsa*

one hand and the Imperial Kushānas on the other. Our conclusion is that the sept of Chashtana might have served under some of the successors of Kanishka I, but not under the latter monarch himself.

¹ Schiefner, *Tāranātha* (text), p. 2; Schiefner, *Tāranātha* (translation), p. 2.

² Lévi discussed this legend, but did not cite this in support of his theory (*JA*, 1936, Vol. CCXXVIII, pp. 98–99). The story in question, first noticed by Huber (*BEFEO*, 1906, pp. 37 f.), is known to have occurred in Chapter XV of the *Yu yang tsa tsu*, composed by Touan Tch'eng-che in c. A.D. 860 (*TP*, 1912, s. II, Vol. XIII, pp. 374–75, n.).

The story itself is as follows (see *BEFEO*, 1906, p. 38, and Chapter VII, p. 7 of the reprint of the *Yu yang tsa tsu* in the *Ts'in tai pi shu*):

‘Formerly there reigned in Gandhāra (Kan-to) a worthy and shrewd king; his name was Kanishka. He led his armies against all nations; none resisted him. Once, during his campaign in the five Indies someone presented him two very fine fabrics. He kept one (for himself) and bestowed the other on his queen. The queen clothed herself (with it), and came forward before the king. Now in the fabric, just on the breast of the queen, appeared the imprint of one hand in saffron (colour). At the sight of this the king grew angry, and demanded of the queen—“what does the robe, put on by you, signify, and what does the mark of a hand convey?” The queen said to him, “this is the same cloth which the king has given me”. Furious, the king demanded explanations from his treasurer, who replied to him—“a piece of this stuff always carries this mark. Your bondsman is not here for nothing”. And the king ordered the merchant, (who) had sold (the cloth), to appear (before him); the latter (i.e. the merchant) said, “in South India reigns the king Sātavāhana (So-t'o-p'o-hen); and here (is one) who can fulfil his vow, made previously; every year he accumulates, one upon the other, fine fabrics brought to him as taxes; he imprints his hands, wetted in saffron, on these stuffs, and this imprint penetrates through all the pieces heaped up in thousands and tens of thousands. In whatever way a man puts on one of these fabrics, the mark of the hand will appear on his back; and (it appears) on the breast if it is (worn by) a female”.

The king ordered the personnel of his retinue to put on (the fabric) themselves, and it (was) as the merchant had said. Striking on his sword, the king cried out, “I (won't) sleep or (take) rest before I cut off the hands and feet of king Sātavāhana.” And he despatched a messenger to South India to demand the hands and feet of the king (Sātavāhana).

On the arrival of the messenger, the king Sātavāhana and his ministers spoke to him falsely that “we have a good king who has the name Sātavāhana; but this is not an actual king; nevertheless, the power and the supreme authority are in the hands of us, the ministers”.

On (hearing) that, the king (i.e. Kanishka) ordered his cavalry and elephants to go down to the south, against the kingdom of (king) Sātavāhana.

The inhabitants concealed the king (Sātavāhana) in an underground cave; and then cast in gold (a statue of) a man which went (i.e. was taken) to meet the invader. But the king (i.e. Kanishka) realized the forgery and, relying on the strength of his previous merits, he cut off the arms and the legs of the man (i.e. the statue) of gold. At the same moment fell off the two arms and (two) legs of king Sātavāhana, hidden in the cave.

³ B. N. Mukherjee, *Studies in Kushāna Genealogy and Chronology*, Ch. V (in press).

*pao-tsang ching*¹ and the *Fu fa-tsang yin yüan chuan*.² The first mentions twice Kanishka I's (Chi-ni-cha) victory over the three of the four regions of the world,³ and the latter alludes to his successful campaign in (the countries bordering) the three seas.⁴ It may be argued that one of the 'three regions' may have been the 'south' and may here include South India. It can also be stated that the very same area, surrounded by the seas, may be intended by the second work. However, we must concede that such general descriptions of conquests are only conventional and are too vague to admit of any definite conclusion.

Thus we may conclude that no known source testifies to Kanishka I's authority over any part of the Deccan.⁵

¹ See F.N. 1 on p. 84.

² See F.N. 2 on p. 84.

³ *Taisho Tripitaka*, No. 203, Ch. VII, p. 484, 2 and 3.

⁴ *Ibid.*, No. 2058, Ch. V, pp. 1, 11, 317.

⁵ Following is the list of abbreviations used in the present article:

- (1) *AIU*—R. C. Majumdar (editor), *Age of Imperial Unity*.
- (2) *BEFEO*—*Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient*.
- (3) *BSOAS*—*Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*.
- (4) *BÉGRAM*—R. Ghrisman, *Begram, Recherches Archeologiques et Historiques sur Les Kouchans, Mémoires de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan*, Vol. XII, le Caire, 1946.
- (5) *CCADWK*—E. J. Rapson, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra Dynasty, the Western Kshatrapas, the Traikütaka Dynasty and the Bodhi Dynasty*, London, 1908.
- (6) *CI*—S. Konow, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. II, pt. I, *Ksharoshahi Inscriptions with the exception of those of Asoka*, Calcutta, 1929.
- (7) *Com. His. Ind.*—K. A. Nilakanta Sastri (editor), *Comprehensive History of India*, Vol. II, 1957.
- (8) *DKA*—F. E. Pargiter, *The Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*, Oxford, 1913.
- (9) *EI*—*Epigraphia Indica*.
- (10) *HHS*—Hou Han-shu (ssu-pu-pei-yao edition). For a translation of chapter 118, see E. Chavannes, *T'ung Pao*, 1907, series fII, Vol. II, pp. 149–235.
- (11) *IHQ*—*Indian History Quarterly*.
- (12) *IA*—*Indian Antiquary*.
- (13) *JA*—*Journal Asiatique*.
- (14) *Frisk, Periplus*—H. Frisk (editor), *Le Périples de la Mer Erythré*.
- (15) *JASB*—*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*.
- (16) *JNSI*—*Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*.
- (17) *JUPHS*—*Journal of the U.P. Historical Society*.
- (18) *JRAS*—*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Ireland and Great Britain*.
- (19) *McCrindle, Ptolemy*—J. W. McCrindle's *Ancient India as Described by Ptolemy* (edited by S. N. Majumdar Sastri), Calcutta, 1927.
- (20) *Nanjio*—B. Nanjio, *A Catalogue of the Chinese Translation of the Buddhist Tripitaka*, Oxford, 1883.
- (21) *NIA*—*New Indian Antiquary*.
- (22) *PHAI*—H. C. Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India* (5th edition), Calcutta, 1950.
- (23) *Ptolemy*—*Geographike Huphegesis* (edited by C. F. A. Nobbe, three volumes).
- (24) *PCDK*—*Proceedings of the Conference on the Date of Kanishka I held in London in 1960* (unpublished).
- (25) *Renou, Ptolemy*—L. Renou, *La Géographie de Ptolemée l'Inde*, VII, 1–4, Paris, 1925.
- (26) *PIHC*—*Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*.
- (27) *SI*—D. C. Sarkar, *Select Inscriptions Bearing on Indian History and Civilization*, Vol. I, Calcutta, 1942.
- (28) *Schiefner, Tāranātha* (text)—A. Schiefner (editor), *Taranathae de doctrina Buddhicae in India—Propagatione narration*, Petropoli, 1868.
- (29) *Schiefner, Tāranātha* (translation)—*Tāranātha Geschichte des Buddhismus in Indien*, St. Petersburg, 1869.
- (30) *ZDMG*—*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*.

VARĀHA-CAVE OF UDĀYAGIRI—AN ICONOGRAPHIC STUDY

By DEBALA MITRA

The colossal relief of the boar incarnation of Vishṇu in Cave 5¹ is very well known since its description by Cunningham.² The superb execution of Varāha, the principal subject, is worthy of the Gupta period. The artist has fully succeeded in giving expression to the robust vitality and the vigour of the mighty god who found it necessary to assume the form of Varāha to fulfil his cosmic mission of uplifting the earth from the ocean. With his right leg stretched and the bent left leg resting on the gathered-up coil of the mythical serpent Śeṣha and with his right and left palms resting respectively on the right hip and left thigh in a posture natural for raising a heavy load, the hybrid figure of the god is shown as having raised the personified earth, Pṛithivī, with the help of his right tusk. Clad in a *dhotī* and a folded scarf, he is decked with a broad necklace having a row of beads below, two thick *valayas* on each wrist and a long wreath (*vaijayantīmālā*) made of various flowers, leaves and fruits. The satisfaction of the god in the accomplishment of his arduous task is expressed in the slightly smiling snout raised towards the head of Pṛithivī as if in the act of smelling her. Pṛithivī, with her creeper-like right arm attached to the hook-like tusk of Varāha³ and the middle part lightly posed on the root of his left arm, has her feet perched on a half-blossomed lotus, the stalk of which issues from the watery region indicated by wavy lines, lotuses, buds and lotus-leaves. She is draped in a transparent upper garment, a *sārī*, also transparent, and a folded scarf. Of her ornaments, a chain-shaped girdle, a necklace, anklets and a cylindrical ear-ornament in her right ear alone are preserved.

On Varāha's right and standing on a half-open lotus is a female, possibly Lakshmī, holding the long stalk (*nāla-daṇḍa*) of a fully-blossomed lotus, the latter serving as a sunshade (*kamal-ātapatra*)⁴ over Varāha. Śeṣha, with a canopy of thirteen hoods in two layers, is in worshipful attitude with palms in *añjali-mudrā*. Behind him and holding a garland is a kneeling bejewelled male with spiral locks of hair. Still behind is a smaller figure, standing and wearing a peculiar *hāra*, consisting of a string with a conspicuously large central piece. The kneeling figure has been identified by Cunningham with the king of the ocean, but may represent the donor of the Cave himself.⁵ As already noted by V. S. Agrawala,⁶ the god of the ocean is represented by the bottom figure of the side walls where he, with a turban-like headdress and with a vase in hand, is seen wading through the ocean which receives the combined streams of

¹ Cave 4 of A. Cunningham.

² *Arch. Surv. Ind. Rep.*, X (Calcutta, 1880), pp. 48 and 49.

³ *āsakta-bāhu-latayā sārddhamuddhṛitayā bhuvā | mahā-Varāha-damshṭṛāyām viśrāntāḥ pralayāpadi || Kumāra-sambhava*, VI, 8.

⁴ Cf. *Raghuvaṃśa*, IV, 5, and VII, 89.

⁵ A similar kneeling figure, this time holding an incense-burner (?) instead of a garland, followed again by a standing figure with the same peculiar *hāra*, may be seen below the colossal figure of Śeṣhaśāyī-Vishṇu in Cave 13.

⁶ 'Gupta Art', *Journ. U.P. Hist. Soc.*, XVIII, Parts 1 and 2 (1945), p. 134 b.

Gaṅgā and Yamunā. The same god of the ocean is perhaps repeated in the figure¹ with a vase on the back wall on both sides of Varāha.

In effective contrast with the dynamic personality of Varāha are the rows of the small figures of amazed spectators, almost static and carved in low relief, which cover the entire wall above the ocean. This well-balanced contrast heightens the effect of the entire composition and at the same time brings into prominent relief the rescuer of the earth. In the figures, which are in three registers on the god's left, Cunningham recognized Brahmā, Śiva on his bull and other gods in one row (evidently the top row), *asuras* or demons in the second and bearded *rishis* in the third. Cunningham's identification of the top and bottom lines is beyond doubt. In the top are twenty-two figures, of which two, as already identified by Cunningham, are Brahmā and Śiva. The bearded and pot-bellied Brahmā, with three heads visible, is immediately above the head of Varāha. Seated in *lalitāsana* on a lotus, he, with a broad band-like *upavīta*, bears a rosary in his right hand, the damaged object in his left palm being possibly a water-pot. The figure of the two-armed Śiva is badly mutilated; he is seated in *lalitāsana* on a bull, also damaged. There is no trace of any halo around the head of these two gods.

In contradistinction to these two members of the grand Trinity, the remaining twenty are shown standing with slight flexion. All of them wear identical dress and ornaments. Clad in a *dhoti* and a folded scarf worn in *upavīti* fashion with one end falling in front across their left shoulder, they are decked in *valayas* (one on each wrist), a broad, short necklace and *kundalas*. With extended right palm in a pose of praise to Varāha, all the twenty figures are shown as if greeting the god. The first twelve only of this group of twenty figures have circular haloes with a row of radiating lines near the edge indicative of the sun's rays. The heads of the first eight of them have almost gone. The first of these with a *vajra* in his left hand resting on the waist is evidently Indra; the second, with a *pāśa*, is Varuṇa. In the works of Kālidāsa, Indra and Varuṇa are usually closely associated.² In view of these two acknowledged *Lokapālas* occurring side by side it is but natural to expect Dhanada (Kubera) and Antaka (Yama) after them,³ but two figures following Varuṇa lack the characteristic *āyudhas* of Kubera and Yama (*gadā* and *daṇḍa* respectively).⁴ The left hand of each of the nine figures (third to the eleventh) rests on the hip. The heads of the last four figures (ninth to the twelfth) of this group are well preserved. Their *mukūṭas* resemble truncated *kirīṭa-mukūṭas* of basket-design, and it appears that the preceding eight figures wore similar *mukūṭas* as well. It is very likely that in the present set-up Indra and Varuṇa are not to be regarded as *Lokapālas* but as *Ādityas*. These two along with the succeeding ten thus appear to stand for *Dvādaś-ādityas*. They alone have the *kirīṭa-mukūṭas* and the distinguishing *prabhā* with radiating solar rays which apparently emphasize their character

¹ The figure is not female as supposed by some.

² *Raghuvamśa*, XI, verse 53. In the composition of Anantaśāyī in the south niche of the Gupta temple of Deogarh we find, by the right side of Indra, Varuṇa on a *haṁsa* (and not peacock as supposed by some who have accordingly taken the rider for Kārttikeya). The figure in the extreme left of the same row is Vāyu holding the ends of the scarf, the upper part of which is missing.

³ The prowess of these four gods (named *Lokapālas* in the Nanaghat inscription of Nāyanikā) is emphasized in the Gupta inscriptions which usually compare the mighty Samudragupta with Dhanada, Varuṇa, Indra and Antaka.

⁴ These attributes are assigned to these gods in the *Kumāra-sambhava*, II, verses 22 and 23.

as Ādityas. It may be noted here that both Indra and Varuṇa are classed among the twelve Ādityas in some texts.¹ It should also be noted that Brahmā and Śiva are ~~not~~ endowed here with any halo which has evidently a solar significance in this context. The suggestion that these twelve figures collectively stand for the twelve Ādityas is further corroborated by the presence of the Ashta Vasus (in the first line) and Ekādaśa Rudras (in the second line) to be noted below.

Among the remaining eight figures of this line the first, which holds a water-pot in its left hand, can be definitely identified as Agni, due to the flames shown issuing from his head. Immediately following him is his close associate,² Vāyu, with his slightly inflated hair and a banner in his left hand. The remaining six, with left hand resting on the hip and turban-like headgear, do not present any distinctive attributes to permit of proper identification. As Nairṛita and Īśāna cannot be recognized in this group it is difficult to conceive here Agni and Vāyu as *dikpālas*. The eight figures apparently form a group; it is probable that they are Ashta Vasus who are described in the *Vishṇu Purāṇa* (Part I, Ch. XV, verse 110) as *jyotiḥ-purogamāḥ* ('with *jyotiḥ* or fire appearing first'). Anala (fire) and Anila (wind) are also included in the list of eight Vasus.³

In the second row are twenty figures generally described as *asuras* after Cunningham. That they are not *asuras* is clearly proved by the first eleven figures (counting from the extreme left) who form a group and are distinguished from the remaining nine by the mode of their wearing scarf (which encircles the body of each and falls with its two ends on the left side, one of the ends being doubled up on the left forearm), fine sacred thread, *jaṭā-mukuta*, tied on the top of the head, and above all by the ithyphallic (*ūrdhvaliṅga*) feature. That they had a third eye on the forehead is proved by the better-preserved face of the first which distinctly has three eyes. There is no doubt that they collectively stand for Ekādaśa Rudras, the present representation of this group thus being the earliest known one. Like most of the figures in the top and second rows, these do not bear any *āyudhas*, the extended right palm signifying praise of Varāha and the left hand resting on the hip. The ornaments are the same as in the case of the figures in the top row and the remaining nine in this.

From the fact that these Rudras and most of the gods are bereft of their *āyudhas*, are we to conclude that the iconography of these gods is still in a nascent stage? Or may it be due to the fact that they are represented in modest attire as a matter of propriety in consideration of the august occasion, just as Kālidāsa in his *Kumāra-sambhava* (VII, verse 45) makes Indra and other *Lokapālas* attend the marriage of Śiva, after leaving their insignias (*śrī-lakshmanotsarga-vinīta-vesha*)? In the second *sarga* of the *Kumāra-sambhava*, where the Rudras along with other gods (like Indra, Prachetas, Kubera, Yama, Ādityas, Maruts) and the preceptor of the gods approached Brahmā for the means of killing Tāraka, Rudras' *āyudhas* are not mentioned though their *jaṭā* and the moon on the head are referred

¹ *Sabda-kalpa-druma*, Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series, Part I (Varanasi, 1961), p. 173.

² The natural association of Agni and Vāyu is alluded to by Kālidāsa in verse 82 of the tenth *sarga* of *Raghuvamśa*:

teshām dvayordvayoraikyam vibhide na kadāchana |
yathā Vāyu-Vibhāvasvoryathā chandra-samudrayoḥ ||

Also *Raghuvamśa*, X, verse 40, and *Kumāra-sambhava*, III, verse 21. Cf. *Vāyu-sakha*, an appellation of Agni.

³ The *Bhagavadgītā*, X, 23, regards Agni as the chief of the Vasus.

to.¹ But in the fourteenth *sarga*, probably apocryphal, the Rudras,² armed with flaming *trishūlas* and *pinākas* and with *jaṭā* tied by a snake, followed on their mounts (*vrishas*) Kārttikeya on his mission against Tāraka.

With the right hand extended like the Rudras, the remaining nine wear the folded scarf in the *upavīti* fashion as in the top row, and head-dress resembling a slightly leaf-shaped lotus with beaded tassels issuing from centre. The first of these figures has its left hand on the hip (*kaṭi-hasta*). In the left hand of the second and the third, which are also *kaṭi-hasta*, is a blue lotus. The remaining six also place their left palm on the hip, but the penultimate one holds in his grip the middle part of the hanging end of the scarf. In the absence of the distinguishing attributes, it is not possible to identify these figures.

Though it is not possible to identify definitely several of the gods, there is no doubt that the background composition contains some collective divinities (*ganadevatās*) who are present in the images of Vishṇu in his form like Viraśayana-mūrti and Viśvarūpa. Thus according to the *Vaikhānasāgama*, as quoted by T. A. Gopinatha Rao,³ the *uttama* class of Viraśayana-mūrti should have, besides the reclining figure of Vishṇu, Śrī, Bhūmi-devī, Madhu, Kaiṭabha, five *āyudhas* and *garuda*, a host of figures like the sages Mārkaṇḍeya and Bhṛigu, Brahmā, Śiva, Chandra, Sūrya, the seven *rishis*, the twelve Ādityas, the eleven Rudras, Apsaras, Tumburu, Nārada, Kinnara couple, Sanaka and Sanatkumāra.

In the bottom register are thirty-two *rishis* in two rows. Wearing barks of trees, broad *yajñopavīta* and *jaṭā*, these sages with flowing beard hold a rosary in the right hand extended in the pose of praise of Varāha and in the left hand a long-necked water-pot with a conical bottom. These *rishis* and also those on the right side of Varāha probably represent the sages, Sanandana and others who, delighted at the great triumph of Varāha, bowed and praised the upholder of the earth.⁴

On the left of the *kamalātapatra* are two figures devoid of ornaments and wearing a short *dhotī*, broad band-like *upavīta* or scarf and *jaṭā*, one playing on a guitar and the other on a harp (*vinā*). They might represent the two divine musicians Nārada and Tumburu.⁵ Beyond them are seven *rishis* who might represent the Saptarshis.⁶ Below them are four more rows of *rishis*, usually with a water-pot in the left hand and a rosary in

¹ II, verse 26.

² *mahāhi-nirvaddha-jaṭā-kalāpino*
jvalat-trishūla-pravalāyudhā yudhe |
Rudrāstushārādri-sakham mahāvṛisham
tato'dhiruḍhāstamayuh pinākinah || verse 12

Amara-kośa (I, 1, verse 10) includes in the *ganadevatās* Ādityas, Viśvas, Vasus, Tushitas, Ābhāsvaras, Anilas, Mahārājikas, Sādhyas and Rudras. According to the *Vishṇudharmottara* the Rudras should have the form of Maheśvara.

³ *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I, Part 1 (Madras, 1914), pp. 94 and 95 and Appendix C, p. 25.

⁴ *Vishṇu Purāṇa*, Part 1, Chapter 4, verse 30.

⁵ The musical skill of Tumburu and Nārada is well recognized in the Gupta period, and Samudragupta in the Allahabad pillar inscription is said to have excelled these two by his musical accomplishments. According to the *Vaikhānasāgama*, Tumburu and Nārada are required to be present in Viraśayana-mūrti, Bhogaśayana-mūrti (here Nārada and Tumburu are required to be presented as boys), Virāsana-mūrti, Bhogāsana-mūrti and Bhoga-sthānaka-mūrti of Vishṇu, cf. *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, I, Appendix C, pp. 19, 21, 22, 24 and 25.

⁶ In the *Kumāra-sambhava* (VI) the Saptarshis (Aṅgiras, Vasishṭha and others) have *muktā-yajñopavīta*, *haima-vaikala*, *ratnāksha-sūtra* and *jaṭā-bhāra*, live in Saptarshiloka which is above Saura-loka and Chandra-loka, and are not destroyed even by *mahā-pralaya* as they take shelter to the tusks of Mahā-Varāha.

the extended right palm—seven *rishis* in the bottom row, eight each in the two intermediate rows and nine in the fourth row. Thus altogether there are seven rows (including the two on the right) of *rishis*. Is this number purely accidental just for filling the space above the ocean or has it a reference to the seven classes of *rishis*?

The main theme of the two side walls is the descent of Gaṅgā and ~~Yamunā~~ from the celestial region, their flowing side by side for some distance, then their confluence and ultimately the combined waters meeting the same ocean,¹ from the depth of which Varāha uplifted the submerged earth. In the upper part, in between the two streams, is a *vidyādhara* with a garland in hand flying in haste towards Varāha. Below this *vidyādhara* on the south wall is a divine orchestra of five musicians and a dancing *apsaras*. In the hands of three of the musicians are a guitar, a flute and a lyre, while the instruments in the hands of the two on the left of the dancer are too defaced to be identified correctly. Amidst their stream on both walls are the personified Gaṅgā and Yamunā, with their right hand on the waist and the raised left hand holding a water-vase, standing respectively on a *makara* and a *kūrma*.

Thus the entire composition spread over the south, west and north walls of Cave 5 reminds one of Viśvarūpa as described in verses 21-22 of Chapter 11 of the *Bhagavadgītā* :

*dyāvā-prithivyoridamantaram hi
vyāptam tvayaikena diśascha sarvāḥ |
dṛiṣṭvādbhutam rūpamugram tavedam
lokatrayam pravyathitam mahātman || 20*

*amī hi tvām sura-saṁghā viśanti
kechidbhūtāḥ prāñjalayo grīnanti |
svastīyuktvā maharshi-siddha-saṁghāḥ
stuvanti tvām stutibhiḥ pushkalābhiḥ || 21*

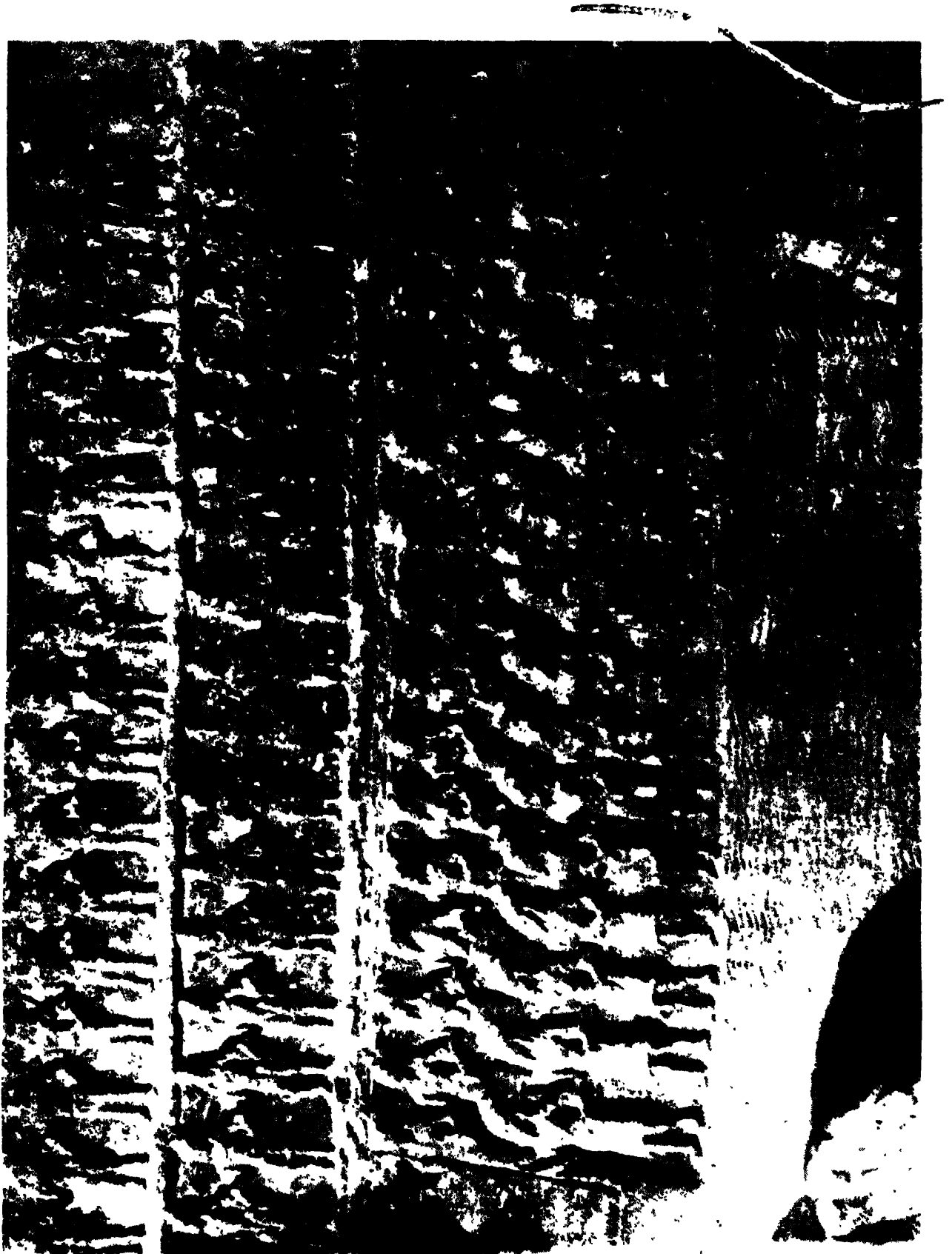
*Rudrādityā Vasavo ye cha sādhyā
Viśve'svinau Marutaśchoshmapāścha |
gandharva-yakshāsura-siddhasaṁghā
vīkshante tvām vismitāśchaiva sarve || 22²*

¹ V. S. Agrawala, 'Gupta Art', *Journ. U.P. Hist. Soc.*, XVIII, Parts 1 and 2 (1945), p. 134 b; C. Sivaramamurti, *Sanskrit Literature and Art—Mirrors of Indian Culture*, Mem. Arch. Surv. Ind., No. 73 (Delhi, 1955), p. 45.

² The photographs published here are the copyright of the Archaeological Survey of India.



Varāha-cave. Udayagiri





Anala and Anila Varāha cave, Udayagiri

EASTERN EXPANSION OF THE GĀHAḌAVĀLA KINGDOM

By ADRIAN BANERJI

Over the rubble and shambles of the Pratihāra empire, one of the dynasties that established itself in Uttar Pradesh, a fragment of the vast Pratihāra empire, was the Gāhaḍavālas of Kanauj. Their sequence is clearly and unequivocally stated in verse 2 of Rajghat plate of Govindacandra of V.S. 1197 (A.D. 1140). It reads *Āsīd = aśītadyuti-varṇa-jāta-kṣmāpāla-mālāsu divaṁ gatāsu*, 'When the days of the garland of kings belonging to the solar race were over'¹. This is found repeated in the preamble of almost every grant. The Pratihāras, it should be recalled, stated in their epigraphs that they belonged to the solar race, irrespective of the fact whether it is true or not².

The founder of the dynasty was Yaśovigraha, and its palmy days were over with the battle of Chandawar, in A.D. 1195, between Jaicandra and Qutb-ud-dīn Aibak. In course of time, finds of inscriptions and coins, to be noticed later, go to show the Gāhaḍavālas extended their sway to ancient Kāruṣa (Shahabad District) and Magadha. Politically and culturally the Gāhaḍavāla occupation is one of the most important episodes in the medieval history of Bihar, and the introduction of the *Nagari* alphabet is associated with it. It is a pity, therefore, that B. P. Sinha failed to pay adequate attention to this aspect and made only some shallow conclusions³.

Yaśovigraha's grandson annexed Antarvedī (the doab between the Yamuna and the Ganges), at least Kanauj, by the prowess of his own arms (*nija-bhuj-opārjita*). But N. B. Sanyal, R. S. Tripathi and H. C. Ray feel that, towards the first quarters of the next century, he seems to have lost it to a minor Rāstrakūṭa prince, named Gopāla, mentioned in the Sahet-Mahet C.P. of Vidyādhara of V.S. 1176 (c. A.D. 1119)⁴. But Roma Niyogi has dealt with this point lucidly. Candradeva seems to have extended his dominions over Kāśī, Uttara-Kośala, etc.⁵.

Madanapāla (c. A.D. 1104–13) was the son and successor of Candradeva. His reign, however, was not characterized by his own leadership but by the personality of his son *Mahārājaputra* Govindacandradeva. Thus the Rohan grant of Madanapāla states that Govindacandra was victorious over the Gauḍa elephants and *Hāmmīras* (i.e. Āmīrs), possibly the Ghaznavids⁶. These deeds were performed as a 'Prince' when his father was alive. Out of five grants of Madanapāla's reign so far traced, four were issued by his son, and only one found at Badera in Pratapgarh District was issued by him in V.S. 1164 (A.D. 1107–8)⁷. His reign, it seems, was an inglorious one. As pointed out by H. C. Ray and Roma Niyogi, he seems to have suffered a defeat at the hands of the Yamini general

¹ *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXVI, p. 270.

² The question has been discussed in *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. IX, Pt. I, pp. 471–478, and *Journal of the Department of Letters*, Vol. X by R. C. Majumdar in his *Gurjara-Pratihāras*.

³ *Political History of Bihar* (A.D. 1025–1200), G.D. College Bulletin series, No. 4.

⁴ *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. I, p. 501.

⁵ *The History of the Gāhaḍavāla Dynasty*, pp. 18 ff.

⁶ *I.A.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 16.

⁷ *Journal of U.P. Historical Society*, Vol. XIV, pp. 66 ff.

Hajib Tughategin (Sk. *tikina*), a converted Turk, as noticed in the *Tabaqāt-i Nāsiri* (p. 107) and the *divan* of the contemporary poet Salman¹. In passing, I must point out that the evidence is not conclusive. The king of Kanauj is mentioned as *Malhi* or *Malhirā*, which cannot be easily equated with *Madana*. But it is a plausible explanation for the king not being the direct grantor in four of his grants and Govindacandra's successful campaigns against the Turks or Turuṣkas, by which they were compelled to stop border raids.

The Bengal army must have belonged to the Pālas (*durvāra-sphāra-gauḍa-dvirada-vara-ghaṭā-kumbha-nirbheda-bhīma*)². Before this, Candradeva had also led an expedition. The result, however, was indecisive. That is why Bhīmayaśas is described in the *Rāmacarita* as *Kānyakubja-rāja-vāji-niganṭhana-bhujāṅga*. The final *coup de grace* was to be inflicted in the next reign.

Madanapāla issued coins in base silver or billon and copper.

Obverse: The rude figure of a king riding a horse and around the margin incomplete legend.

Reverse: Bull couchant and legend:

*Mādhava—Śrī-Sāmanta*³.

Madanapāla's son and successor was Govindacandra (c. A.D. 1114–56). Forty-four records of this king on copper and stone have been found. Vārāṇasī has yielded 25; Pali in Gorakhpur District has supplied 2; Sahet-Mahet in Gonda District 2; Basahi in Gonda District 1; Don Buzurg in Saran District 1; the Asiatic Society in Calcutta has 2, whose find spots are not known; Chatarpur in Kanpur District 1; Maner in Patna District 1; Itaunja in Lucknow District 1; Raiwan in Sitapur District 1; Ren in Fatehpur District 1; Gagaha in Gorakhpur District 1; Machhlisahar in Jaunpur District 1; Lar in Deoria District 1; Bangaon in Rae-Bareilly District 1.

One inscription inscribed on a pillar at Hathia Dih in Azamgarh District and a *praśasti* of one of his queens, Kumaradevī, a princess of Gayā, have also been published.

The long reign of Govindacandra was indeed the classic period of the dynasty. He was the most aggressive of all his contemporaries in war and diplomacy. For the eastern conquests of Govindacandra the following inscriptions are important:

- (1) Sahet-Mahet C.P. of Govindacandra dated V.S. 1176 (A.D. 1119-20)⁴.
- (2) Don Buzurg plate of the same date (V.S. 1176 = A.D. 1119-20)⁵.
- (3) Maner plates of the same monarch dated in V.S. 1183 (A.D. 1126-27) granting the villages of Gunāve and Paḍali in the Maṇiyāri-pattalā to a Brahmin named Jāgūśarman⁶.
- (4) Gagaha (now in the British Museum) plates of the same monarch of V.S. 1199 (A.D. 1142-43)⁷.
- (5) Sarnath inscription of Kumaradevī, a queen of Govindacandra⁸.

¹ H. C. Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 514; R. Niyogi, *op. cit.*, pp. 54 ff.

² Chandravati plates of V.S. 1150 and V.S. 1156 (*E.I.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 193 ff. and 197 ff.).

³ Rapson, *Indian Coins*, p. 311, *CCIM.*, Vol. I, pp. 257, 260.

⁴ *E.I.*, Vol. XI, pp. 22 ff.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 20 ff.

⁶ *J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. II, pp. 441 ff.; *J. & P.A.S.B.* (N.S.), Vol. V (1922), pp. 81–84.

⁷ *E.I.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 217 ff.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, pp. 223 ff.

(6) Lar plates of the same monarch issued from the victorious camp at Mudgagiri (*sic* Munghyr) in V.S. 1202 (A.D. 1145-46)¹.

(7) Sahet-Mahet C.P. of V.S. 1186 (A.D. 1129-30)².

The earliest of these are the Don Buzurg and Sahet-Mahet plates. These, as well as the Gagaha plate, have very little importance, since they belong to the Uttara Kośala country which was acquired in the time of Candradeva (c. A.D. 1089-1103), if not in any other earlier reign, and in all probability was inherited. It is the Maner C.P. and the Sarnath inscription which are relevant for our purpose. The Maner plates unmistakably show that it was not merely Saran and Champaran but portions of South Bihar were annexed to the Gāhaḍavāla dominions by A.D. 1126. The villages granted were in Maṇiyāri-pattalā, a name which survives in vulgarized form as Maner³. It is clear that the present Dinapur Sub-division in Patna District was known as Maṇiyāri-pattalā with Maner as its headquarters; and the mounds over which the Muslim tombs and the present village have been erected represent the ruins of that city. In fact Maner has claims to earlier antiquity since myself and Śrī K. Deva in separate visits found N.B.P. sherds there. My piece had a silver lustre. The route of Govindacandra need not worry us. It must have been the same route, by which, at a later period, Ikhtyār-ud-dīn Muḥammad ibn Bakhtiyār Khaljī arrived there from Bhuli and Bhagwat to establish himself at Uddandapura (modern Bihar Sharif) to carry fire and sword throughout Eastern India. We will not therefore be mistaken in taking that by c. A.D. 1124-25, Shahabad, Gaya and Patna Districts had been overrun and continued, as we shall see, to remain in the possession of his successors till Candawar with interruptions. Evidence in respect of Gaya is furnished by the Sarnath inscription of Kumaradevī. The evidence of the Lar plate is even more interesting. It records the grant of two villages in Saruvara to *Thakkura Śrīdhara*. That Saruvara was in Gorakhpur District is known from the Pali plate of the king dated V.S. 1171 (A.D. 1114-15)⁴. But the significant point to be borne in mind is that he issued it from his camp of victory at Mudgagiri. Twenty years after Maner, the Gāhaḍavālas had reached up to Munghyr and possibly Teliyagarhi formed the frontier. The struggle which had commenced in earlier reigns had ultimately ended in the overthrow of the Pālas, for the time being.

One gold coin of Govindacandra was found in the excavation of Monastery No. 1 at Nalanda. The type is:

Obverse : *Śrīmad = Govindacandradeva*.

Reverse : Nimbate seated Lakṣmī⁵.

A copper coin of the same monarch was found at Maṇiyār Maṭh at Rājgīr.

That the conquest of the Gayā area is proved by the Sarnath inscription has been already referred to. According to it, in the Chikkora family, was born Vallabharāja, lord of Piṭhī or Gayā, described as *Magadhādhipa* in the *Rāmācarita*. His son was Devarakṣita. According to Sandhyākaranandin's *Rāmācarita*, Mathana (mentioned as the Aṅga king Mahana in the inscription) riding on his elephant Vindhyamānikya defeated *Piṭhipati*

¹ *E.I.*, Vol. VII, pp. 99 ff.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. XI, pp. 20-26.

³ Another form Mānara is known from the Benares College grant found in the village Sihvar, 6 miles NE. of Vārāṇasī (*I.A.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 129-34; H. C. Ray, *D.H.N.I.*, Vol. I, pp. 537-38).

⁴ *J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 233-38.

⁵ *P.R.*, *A.S.I.*, Eastern Circle, 1916-17, pp. 40-41.

Devarakṣita who later on married his daughter Śaṅkaradevī. The issue of this marriage was Kumāradevī who became a queen of Govindacandra who had also other queens. That Pīṭhī is ~~prominently~~ mentioned both in the Pāla records and the Gāhaḍavāla epigraph is undeniable; just as undoubted is the fact that he changed from a principal foffeee of the Pālas, by a diplomatic marriage, to become a principal feudal prince of the Gāhaḍavālas.

Having consolidated his position, Govindacandra seems to have extended his sway up to Munghyr and possibly annexed the whole of Bhagalpur, for obvious reasons. The family of Mathana were powerful in that territory and their loyalty to the earlier imperial family was well known. To evaluate the scene properly, and to find out from which Pāla monarch he seized Magadha and Aṅga, it is necessary to recall the changes in the political stage of India. The third empire of the Pālas, resurrected by the joint efforts of Rāmapāla and Mahana or Mathana was short-lived. Rāmapāla was succeeded by his son Kumārāpāla and he by Gopāla III. The boy king was succeeded by Madanapāla. The researches of D. C. Sircar has established that Madanapāla's reign commenced in Śaka 1066 = Vikrama *Saṁvat* 1201 = A.D. 1144-45. While Govindapāla ruled from V.S. 1219 = Śaka 1084 = A.D. 1162-63¹. It is quite clear therefore that the Gāhaḍavālas overran Patna and Gaya Districts either in the reign of Kumārāpāla or Gopāla III². But on the eve of Govindapāla's reign (A.D. 1145-63) they had reached up to East Bihar to put an end to the reign of Pāla *rois fainéants*. But this endeavour did not succeed absolutely and they seem to have lost their hold on Gaya District subsequently.

The find of inscriptions at Gaya, Patna and Munghyr Districts unmistakably points to the conclusion that in the very year of the issue of Lar plates (A.D. 1146-47) Madanapāla had reasserted his sovereignty over portions of Magadha. This consists of an image inscription found in Bihar Sharif in Patna District dated in the third regnal year of Madanapāla (A.D. 1146-47)³. If we proceed on the assumption that the Gāhaḍavāla occupation of East Bihar took place after this, we then have to face the evidence of the Valgudar inscription of Madanapāla dated in his 18th regnal year Śaka 1083 = A.D. 1161-62⁴. Finally, the Gayā inscription⁵ of his successor Govindapāla is dated in the 14th year, that is when the sovereignty of Govindapāla in Gaya District had ended (*gata-rājya*) for 14 years in V.S. 1232 (A.D. 1175-76). Therefore Gayā area was lost to Govindapāla in A.D. 1161-62. It was quite clear that the Pālas had successfully reacted against Gāhaḍavāla encroachments but failed, except in the hill tracts of Munghyr District⁶.

That the Gāhaḍavālas continued to enjoy Gaya and Shahabad Districts and possibly portions of Patna District is proved by epigraphs of the succeeding reigns.

Govindacandra was succeeded by Vijayacandra (c. A.D. 1155-69). There is a gap of 13 years between the last known date of Govindacandra and the first date (and not regnal year) of Vijayacandra. The reason for this long gap still remains to be explained. But it should be borne in

¹ *E.I.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 142.

² The date can be worked out more precisely by calculating the reign periods starting from the first year of Govindapāla.

³ Cunningham, *A.S.R.*, Vol. III, p. 124, No. 16.

⁴ *E.I.*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 143-44.

⁵ *M.A.S.B.*, Vol. V, p. 109, Pl. XXVIII.

⁶ There are other dates mentioning the *gata-rājya*, for which cf. R. D. Banerji in *M.A.S.B.*, Vol. V, pp. 110-12.

mind that vague and conventional praises are bestowed on Vijayacandra. Cand Bardai, the author of *Prthvīrāja Rāso*¹, credits him with campaigns in Orissa, Delhi and various southern states. But known and established facts militate against these statements. He also fought with the Turks. Cf. *Bhuvana-dalana-helā-harmya-Hāmbīra-nārī-nayana-jala-dhārā-dhauta-bhūloka-tāpa*². He swept away the affliction of the globe by the streams of water from the eyes of the wives of Hammīra, the abode of wanton destruction on the earth. Evidently this refers to the Ghaznavids of Lahore.

The occupation of Bihar is further proved by the following records:

(1) The Tārācaṇḍī Rock Shelter inscription of V.S. 1225 = A.D. 1168, which, parenthetically, happens to be the earliest and only record so far known of anti-corruption practices and is a public proclamation about bribing a Court Officer (*utkocya*) and action taken on the culprits³. It was issued by the *Nāyaka* (General) Pratāpadhavalā of Japla (Jāpiliya), who was probably the feudal vassal of the Gāhaḍavālas, in Sassaram and the Rohtas Valley, just as the Mānas, Chikkoras and the family of Mahana were of the Pālas.

(2) The newly discovered C.P. of Vijayacandra, in Shahabad District in the possession of Sri S. V. Sohoni. This is the forged charter mentioned in (1).

(3) H. C. Ray includes the missing Rohtasgarh (Phulwariya) inscription of Pratāpadhavaladeva⁴.

Vijayacandra was succeeded by his son Jayacandra (c. A.D. 1170–95). For this reign, we have the Bodhgayā inscription (now missing). It recorded the excavation of a large cave by a monk named Śrī-Mitra at Jayapura⁵. The characters are Nagari of the West Indian variety of the twelfth century A.D. It was dated in 124X, the last digit being broken away. The glories of the Gāhaḍavālas went out at the battle of Chandawar, when the Turks of Ghor inflicted such a crushing defeat on their hereditary enemies that no resurrection was possible, notwithstanding the herculean efforts of the 18-year-old Crown Prince Hariścandra.

Before we conclude we have to refer to a grievous error in which my friend Syed Hassan Askari has fallen. This is regarding the mention of a special tax *Turuṣkadaṇḍa*. He says, 'Bihar must have felt the weight of Muslim arms and also the zeal of Muslim missionaries long before its conquest by Muḥammad ibn Bakhtiyār Khaljī. The discovery of the Maner C.P. dated V.S. 1183 or A.D. 1126, of the Gharwar King Govindacandra of Kanauj, granted to a Brahmin of Pargana Maniari and mentioning a special levy of an obligatory tax *Turuṣkadaṇḍa* or Turks' duty'⁶. In the first place, the levy is not mentioned for the first time in the Maner plates, nor is it peculiar to the area. It is a tax from which a *brahmottara* was exempt.

Scholars are divided in their opinion about the significance of this tax. Thus it has been defined as tax on an aromatic reed, a tribute paid to Ghaznā, a tax on Turkish colonists, and a levy to ward off repeated

¹ There is an incomplete illustrated manuscript of this work in the National Museum, New Delhi. The date is A.D. 1630.

² *I.A.*, Vol. XV, pp. 7–9.

³ *J.A.O.S.*, Vol. VI, pp. 547 ff. The reading, however, is defective. D. C. Sircar has recently re-edited the inscription.

⁴ *E.I.*, Vol. V, APP., p. 22, No. 123; *D.H.N.I.*, Vol. I, p. 540.

⁵ *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. V, pp. 14 ff.

⁶ *Current Affairs*. Patna.

raids by Turks¹. It is undeniable that it was a special levy (*ādāya*) related to the Turks. The term *danḍa* according to the Paithan plates of Yādava Rāmacandra is a contribution which is not a ~~penal~~ measure². It could not have been tax on Turkish settlers, since Brahmins are exempt from it. Rather it was a burden on the sons of the soil. The late Dr. A. S. Altekar pointed out that a similar tax was levied by the Chola King Virarājendradeva to finance his wars against the Cālukyas of Veṅgī³.

The tax is mentioned for the first time in the Chandravati grant of Candradeva dated in V.S. 1148 (A.D. 1090)⁴. From that time onwards, up to the last known inscription of Vijayacandra, several land grants mention it. The diffusion of their find spots indicate that it was not special to any region or part of the extensive Gāhaḍavāla dominions. The tax, however, was discontinued from the reign of Jayacandra. Candradeva's dominions touched on the north the Ghaznavid dominions in the Punjab. It was he who initiated this special levy. Madanapāla fought the *Hammīras* (the Āmīrs). Govindacandra defended the city of Vārāṇasī from the Turuṣkas. Vijayacandra made the Hammīra women weep. Need there be any doubt why Turuṣkadanḍa was levied?

COINS

Two distinct types of Gāhaḍavāla coins of two different monarchs have so far been met. Horseman: Bull couchant of Madanapāla. These were of silver and copper⁵.

Govindacandra on the other hand issued coins in gold and copper, the type being legend: Lakṣmī and weights varying from 68.00 to 58.8 grains.

Another interesting factor introduced in Bihar by the Gāhaḍavālas has been pointed by D. C. Sircar⁶. This is the use of the Vikrama Era. The Gāhaḍavāla inscriptions found in Bihar are invariably dated in this era. While the Pālas, and following them the Pratihāras (in Bihar), dated their records in regnal years. Bhagalpur and Munghyr Districts continued to use the Śāka Era.

But the greatest influence on the culture of Bihar was the transformation of the script. We find that the eastern limit of the use of the western variety of the north-eastern alphabet, extended eastwards in the twelfth century. Thus, as pointed out by R. D. Banerji, in the Bodhgayā inscription dated in the Śāka year 1059 = A.D. 1137-38 of Jayacandra we meet with western variety. Gradually, in course of the centuries, when Pāla and Sena powers had disappeared, it was the western variety which is found in the Bandhughāt inscriptions of the Jāpiliya *Mahānāyakas* and in the Rohtasgadh (Kathautiya Gateway) inscription of Tomara Mitrasena and Śyamasāhi dated in V.S. 1688 and mentioning Sher Khan⁷.

Culturally, thanks to the marriage of the Pīthī princess Kumaradevī, Buddhism received a much needed support. At Sarnath we are told by

¹ C. V. Vaidya, *Hist. of Med. India*, Vol. III, p. 211; *E.I.*, Vol. IX, p. 231; *Early Hist. of India*, p. 400, f.n. 1; U. N. Ghoshal, *Hindu Revenue System*, p. 263; Altekar, *State and Govt. in Ancient India*, p. 277.

² *I.A.*, Vol. XIV, p. 318.

³ *State and Govt. in Ancient India*, p. 277.

⁴ *E.I.*, Vol. IX, pp. 302 ff.

⁵ *Catalogue of Coins in the Ind. Mus.*, Vol. I, pp. 257, 260.

⁶ *E.I.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 143.

⁷ The inscription is now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (*J.A.S.B.*, Vol. VIII, p. 695).

the panegyrist of Kumaradevī that, in the main temple (*Dharma-chakra jīna-vihāra*), worship which had been initiated by Aśoka had fallen into disuse but was revived by her. The Sahet-Mahet plates of Govindacandra proves the building of monasteries and benefactions at Jetavana by the Hindu king. But who inspired him? It was his Buddhist queen.

As regards Magadha, the evidence is lacking; but it is quite possible that, when Palapāla was busy attempting to resurrect his patrimony, the last series of monasteries, which were destroyed by the Turks, and part of whose staircase, over the Gupta and Pala ruins which still stand forlorn before Monastery No. I and others at Nalanda, were repaired and patronized by Govindacandra. At Bodhgayā, the evidence is still less, notwithstanding what Sri S. V. Sohoni feels. At Sassaram, where excavations have yet to be undertaken in the deserted ruins of Sahasrārjunapura, Gāhaḍavāla architraves taken from some ruins have been utilized in the staircase leading to the top of Hassan Sūr's tomb.

THE LOCALIZATION OF ALKALINE PHOSPHATASE IN THREE SPECIES OF TERMITE FLAGELLATES

By D. P. HALDAR and M. M. CHAKRAVARTY

(Communicated by Prof. J. L. Bhaduri, D.Sc. (Edin.), F.N.I., F.A.S.)

INTRODUCTION

The intestinal flagellates of wood-eating termites are one of the most fascinating specimens in experiment on host-parasite relationships. It has been shown that these flagellates use cellulose as food and are associated with many extra- and intra-cellular symbionts (Cleveland, 1924; Kirby, 1944). Cleveland *et al.* (1934), Dropkin (1941, 1946) and others have observed that flagellates from one species of termite introduced into an individual of another species survive for a limited time only. But very little is known about the cytochemical make-up of these hypermastiginate flagellates. Investigations on the cytochemical constituents of two species of holomastigotid and one species of trichonymphid flagellates, which infect the wood-eating termites of Calcutta, have been completed. The present paper, which deals only with localization of the enzyme, alkaline phosphatase, is a part of these investigations. An attempt has also been made to study the significance of the presence of this enzyme.

MATERIAL AND METHODS

The following holomastigotid and trichonymphid flagellates have been collected from the rectum of the wood-eating termites:

(1) *Holomastigotoides bengalensis* Chakravarty and Banerjee, 1956. (2) *Pseudotrichonympha indica* Chakravarty and Banerjee, 1956. (3) *Spirotrichonympha pyriformis* Chakravarty and Banerjee, 1956. *H. bengalensis* and *S. pyriformis* were found to occur in both adult and younger stages; *P. indica* was, however, found only in the adult form.

The termites, *Heterotermes* sp., were collected from an old residence located in Central Calcutta. Gomori-Takamatsu technique (Gomori, 1952) was adopted to demonstrate the presence of alkaline phosphatase. Eighty per cent chilled alcohol-fixed smears were incubated in a substrate medium having pH 9.4 for six hours at 37° C. These were then rinsed in 1 per cent calcium chloride and subsequently treated with 2 per cent cobalt nitrate and diluted yellow ammonium sulphide.

OBSERVATIONS

In *H. bengalensis* the chromosomes exhibit very strong black precipitation of sulphide granules. The nuclear membrane indicates moderate positive reaction. The cytoplasm together with body membrane demonstrates strong deposition of the enzyme. The spiral bands and the flagella in the region of the nipple reveal positive reaction. In small and intermediate forms of this species, the cytoplasm exhibit slightly enhanced reaction for positive substances (Fig. 1).

The cytoplasm of *P. indica* exhibit deep black granules showing strong deposition of alkaline phosphatase. The intensity of reaction for positive

substances is very strong in the region of the nipple and the semicircular bell. The outer flagella exhibit faint reaction.

The chromatin granules and the nuclear membrane demonstrate the same intensity of reaction like the cytoplasm (Fig. 2).

The pattern of distribution and intensity of reaction for positive substances in *S. pyriformis* are near identical to that found in the former two species.

DISCUSSION

As the cytochemical data of these three flagellates are more or less similar, with minute variations, a general discussion on the topic will be of much convenience.

The cytoplasm of the flagellates exhibit strong localization of alkaline phosphatase. This may be an indication of the fact that they imbibe their nutritional requirements from their own intrinsic enzymatic activity. Similar explanation has been advanced by Ray and Hajra (1962) for the presence of alkaline phosphatase in the cytoplasm of erythrocytic forms of *Plasmodium ovale*. Danielli (1954) has suggested a very useful working hypothesis regarding the functions of alkaline phosphatase, namely that it acts as an enzymatic centre for the conversion of chemical energy into a mechanical one. It may be that phosphatases play a general part in phosphorylating processes which is of great importance in cellular metabolism. It is supported by Blaschko and Jacobson (1951).

The chromosomes reveal fairly strong intensity of reaction for alkaline phosphatase. The occurrence of this enzyme in known sites of genes tempts one to suggest that these substances may be the integral parts or very close associates of the genes. Besides, this alkaline phosphatase may be protecting genes from the hazardous action of vigorous phosphorylating agents such as adenosine-triphosphate and acetyl-phosphate. Danielli (1953) advocated such a functional relationship in cells of higher organisms.

A heavy deposition of alkaline phosphatase is observed at the outer cytoplasmic area and the body-wall. This probably acts as a phosphokinase, that is, it catalyses the transfer of a phosphate residue from one organic molecule to another, thus helping in the absorption of hexose and other food substance by the flagellates. In this way, enzymatic action may be one of the methods whereby soluble food material is taken by the flagellate. Sen Gupta *et al.* (1955) also attributed such a function in *Plasmodium berghei*.

SUMMARY

(1) Cytochemical studies have been adopted for the different forms of *Holomastigotoides bengalensis*, *Spirotrichonympha pyriformis* and *Pseudotrichonympha indica* for the detection of alkaline phosphatase.

(2) Alkaline phosphatase is detected in all the flagellates in the nucleus and the cytoplasm with the strongest deposition in the small and intermediate forms.

(3) The probable significance for the presence of this cytochemical substance is discussed in relation with the biological tempo of these termite flagellates.

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FIG. 1. Showing the strong alkaline phosphatase activity in the nucleus and cytoplasm of *H. bengalensis*. The spiral flagellar bands may also be noted which are moderately positive (x 567)



FIG. 2. Showing the heavy deposition of alkaline phosphatase in the cytoplasm and in the region of the nipple of *P. indica* (x 370)

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

KĀLIDĀSA-SĀHITYAM. By Dr. Adyaprasad Misra. 9"×6". Pages i-iii+1-116. Published as the second Pushpa of the Maheśa Thakkura Granthamālā, Darbhanga, 1962, under the auspices of the Darbhanga Sanskrta Viśvavidyālaya.

It is a bibliography purporting to collect together books and articles on the works of Kālidāsa in India and abroad and in various Indian and foreign languages. The subject-matter has been subdivided into (a) Commentaries, (b) Studies, (c) Biography, and (d) Miscellaneous.

The reason for arranging the original works of Kālidāsa in the order it has been done is not apparent. The index begins with *Raghuvamśa* and ends with *Rtusamhāra*. Under biography (pp. 99-102) items are mentioned without discernment, e.g. regarding Damodarpur Madhubani in Darbhanga as the birthplace of Kālidāsa. At the present day, with biography carried to a wasteful and ridiculous excess, and Kālidāsa the idol not merely of a nation but of the educated world, it is difficult to realize a period when no interest was taken in the events of the lives of authors, and when the great poet himself, notwithstanding the immense popularity of some of his works, was held in no general reverence. The personal or literary history of the great poet cannot be effectively studied by indiscriminately referring to such articles as *Kālidāsa-sāhityam*.

A bibliography should be careful and accurate. The references to names and authors in this compilation are often wrong, e.g.

- (a) Copied by one ignorant of the language: 'Die Anekdeten *liber* [sic] Kālidāsa in * * *', p. 98.
- (b) Page 91—'Kālidāsa in a Kaśmira MS.', by A. Banerji-Shastri. *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, Vol. XI (1925). There was no such *Journal* in 1925. The correct name was the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*.
- (c) Page 24—'Śakuntalā with English Notes, etc.', by Iswarachandra Vidyasagara. Calcutta, 1871. Vidyasagar published in Samvat 1928 his edition of *Abhijñānaśakuntalam* based on nine MSS. with Sanskrit notes.
- (f) The name Saradaranjan Ray is written as (i) Sharadaranjan Ray (p. 22), (ii) Śaradanandana Ray (p. 84), and Śāradārañjan Rey (र) in p. 24.

Such errors in spelling and printing detract from the utility of a bibliography.

A. BANERJI-SASTRI

HĀRĀMAṆI (in Bengali). By Muhammad Mansuruddin. Dacca University, 1959. Pp. 93+64. Illustrated. Rs.4.12 P.

This is the fourth collection of folk-songs made by the author under the title *Hārāmaṇi*. The first two volumes were published from Calcutta and Tagore wrote a short preface for the first issue. The author has done well in including Tagore's preface in this volume also.

The book under review contains two essays and about a hundred folk-songs collected from the various regions of undivided Bengal. The article

or rather note on Lālan Fakir is interesting. The notations of four typical songs have enhanced the value of the book.

The book is nicely produced. Misprints could have been easily avoided.

SUKUMAR SEN

HEAT IN THE RIG VEDA AND ATHARVA VEDA. By Chauncey J. Blair. American Oriental Series, Vol. 45. American Oriental Society. New Haven, Connecticut, 1961. Pp. xvi+190.

The author concentrates on the subject of heat in all its aspects and implications in *R.V.* and *A.V.* He employs the statistical method and examines all the occurrences of the root *tap* and its derivatives in the two Vedas. The result is summarized under the following eight categories :

1. Kindly heat of the Cosmos :
 - (a) of the sun,
 - (b) of other cosmic activities, and
 - (c) of the funeral fire.
2. Ritual heat :
 - (a) of the *gharmā* vessel, and
 - (b) of other things in the ritual.
3. Devotional heat of ritual activity.
4. Injuring heat which is directed
 - (a) against enemies, or
 - (b) by enemies.
5. Miserable heat of mental distress and fever.
6. Heat of unknown source and effect.
7. Heat of the *R̥sis* and *Pit̥rs*.
8. Heat as an abstract, philosophic entity.

The book is mainly divided into six parts dealing respectively with

- (i) root *tap* and its derivatives,
- (ii) heat and enemies,
- (iii) heat of the body,
- (iv) heat and the Cosmos,
- (v) heat and the gods, and
- (vi) other aspects of heat (*viz.* *gharmā* and lack of heat).

The book is a notable contribution to Vedic philosophy.

SUKUMAR SEN

SAHITYAPRAKĀŚIKĀ (in Bengali), Vol. III. Viśva-bhāratī, Santiniketan. Pp. 59+185. Rs.5.

This third volume of the research journal of Viśva-bhāratī contains two unpublished texts on the cult of Dharma. Of the two texts the bigger and more important is Yādu (or Yādav) Nāth's *Dharmamaṅgal*, edited by Dr. Panchanan Mondal from a single defective manuscript apparently dated in the middle of the eighteenth century. It is, however, not a *maṅgala* poem but a ritualistic *ākhyāna* on the story of Hariścandra and his worship of Dharma. This story occurs in most of the priestly handbooks on Dharma worship and also in all the narrative (*maṅgala*) poems on Dharma. The

story as told by Yādu Nāth has some interesting points. The other text is very late and unimportant.

SUKUMAR SEN

URDU SAHITYER ITIHAS (in Bengali). By Dr. Harendra Chandra Pal, M.A., D.Litt. Published by the author. Calcutta, 1962. Pp. 391. 'The popular price of this book has been possible through the subvention received from Government.' But the price is not mentioned!

The book is in five chapters, the first of which deals with the language. There is an appendix mentioning the Urdu writers from Bengal.

The book is a timely and useful publication.

SUKUMAR SEN

BENGALI FOLK-BALLADS FROM MYMENSINGH, AND THE PROBLEM OF THEIR AUTHENTICITY. By Dr. Dušan Zbavitel of the Oriental Institute of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, Prague (Czechoslovakia). Published by the University of Calcutta, 1963.

I have very rarely read a book on literature, and particularly some aspect of Indian literature, with greater pleasure and appreciation, and I have also greatly profited by this book. Until about 40 years ago, the existence of a rich ballad literature of a romantic character in the Bengali language was not known to our scholars and students of Bengal. These ballads were spread out throughout the whole of Bengal, but their richest mine was certain areas in East Bengal, particularly in the district of Mymensingh. It was the late Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sen, one of our pioneers in the field of Bengali studies, who discovered these ballads for the first time as they were collected by an obscure scholar in East Bengal, who loved the folk literature of his district, the late Chandra Kumar De. Chandra Kumar De published some of his finds in a local Bengali magazine, and Dr. Sen as a fine connoisseur of literature immediately realized their importance. He then instituted in the University of Calcutta a department for collecting folk literature, and through Chandra Kumar De, as well as some of his student assistants employed for this purpose, Professor Sen was able to bring to light quite a rich literature of folk origin, of which any people could be proud.

Dr. Sen took these ballads on their face value, and he accepted them as original and authentic. But, as it always happens in such cases, over-cautiousness and scepticism made their advent, and there were scholars in Bengal, some of them of quite high eminence, who questioned the genuineness of these ballads as folk literature and many objections were raised by them. This became a kind of mild literary controversy in the field of Bengali literature. As these ballads were being published from the University of Calcutta, many people like myself read them with great pleasure and accepted them as being unsophisticated popular literature of a very high artistic value, which on the face of it formed a genuine folk production. These ballads showed how the mind of rural Bengal in the easternmost areas was reacting to the joys and sorrows and to the romance and tragedy of life, and the ballads gave fullest expression to a more or less old world village *Weltanschauung* which was quite unique in the annals of Indian and even world literature.

These ballads were translated by Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sen into English after he had published the original texts in Bengali, and his translation and

introduction and notes served to draw the attention of a few foreign scholars to this newly discovered wealth of Indian literature. But there was no one among foreign scholars of Bengali to take up seriously an exclusive study of these ballads. Their popularity with the average Bengali reader was of course there, but a systematic approach from the side of Bengali scholars too was long absent.

Fortunately, a Czech scholar of distinction, who had already attained to quite a high eminence in the study of the Bengali language and its literature, has now taken up these ballads, being attracted by their beauty and their power, their individual quality and their universal appeal as folk literature. Dr. Dušan Zbavitel is already well known in Bengal and India for his studies of Indian literature, particularly Bengali literature, including of course Rabindranath Tagore. He has made notable contributions in this subject. He spent some time in Rabindranath Tagore's School and his University of Visva-Bharati at Santiniketan, and also in other centres of studies and culture in Bengal, and has extensively travelled in India. With the background of European literature and the modern approach to problems of literature as the common heritage of a scholar from Europe, he gave his attention to the study of this mass of compositions in Bengali. He began with the very necessary qualification for success in such studies, namely, an understanding, appreciation and sympathy for the people and the literature which gives expression to their life and thought, their aspirations and their achievements. He also made visits to the spot, in villages in the corners of Mymensingh district and other parts of East Bengal, and contacted prominent scholars and writers and others interested in the subject. With all this preparation, he has given us the present book, and this is a contribution of first-rate importance for the study of one aspect of Bengali literature, and may be said to present quite a brilliant chapter in the study of this literature.

Dr. Zbavitel's book is not very big, but quite respectable in size for the mass of this ballad literature of Bengal, particularly of Mymensingh district. It comes up to 216 printed pages. It gives in one handy volume almost all that one should know about these ballads, and a person who is quite a novice in Bengali literature will get all that he wants to know about this phase of Bengali literature from Dr. Zbavitel's book. The author has first of all given in his Introduction the general character of this ballad literature, and then in his first chapter (pages 1-31) he discusses with full detail the question of its authenticity. He gives fullest consideration to the views so far expressed by the different scholars in Bengal. I think he has presented with comprehensiveness the case in a remarkably impartial manner; and, judging from the fact that early folk literature of all peoples in their development follow almost the same pattern, he has been able to establish the true character of this literature and its essential folk origin. I think this chapter of Professor Zbavitel should set the controversy at rest. Then, in the second chapter, which is rather long (pages 32-118), he gives a sort of analysis of 31 of the most important ballads from Mymensingh which he has selected, and from a perusal of this section his readers, including non-Bengali readers, would be able to form a very good idea of the nature and contents of these ballads and their general literary atmosphere. Then the third chapter or section of this work entitled 'Common Features of the Ballads' (pages 119-151) gives a fine internal study of the ballads from various aspects, e.g. giving a consideration to the ideological and artistic approach of the ballad writers, the mixture of Hindu and Muslim elements in their matter and form, with a reference to what meagre information can

be obtained about the singers of these ballads and their social atmosphere; and after this, we have a very interesting and readable section on the treatment of Nature in the Mymensingh ballads, together with a consideration of the *Bāromāsi* theme in this ballad literature (this *Bāromāsi*, or *Bārah-māsi* in Hindi, forms a very widespread *genre* in the medieval literature of North India, and this *genre* is very well developed in Bengali literature also—Dr. Zbavitel has made a special study of it elsewhere). A section on 'Reflections, Maxims and Colophons' gives an expression to the folk wisdom as well as a profounder philosophy that is present in our folk life. The question of the verse and rhyme technique is also touched.

The fourth section of the book on similes and metaphors gives us a detailed analysis of the psychological and aesthetic aspect of this folk poetry as expressed through the similes and metaphors which are collected and arranged.

The final chapter gives the author's conclusions, and they summarize the whole situation.

We have thus in this book a very fine study of one side of Bengali literature which has been done with knowledge, with sympathy and imagination and with real poetic appreciation. It is indeed a welcome addition, the originality of which has to be freely admitted, and admitted with high praise, to the study of the literature and culture of medieval and modern India: and, written in a very simple and pleasing style, it will be read and appreciated everywhere. For this the author deserves the thanks and congratulations of all who are interested in the subject. His work certainly adds great *kudos* to Czechoslovak achievements in Oriental and Indological studies.

S. K. CHATTERJI

MARIE-ThÉRÈSE DE MALLMANN. *Les enseignements iconographiques de l'Agni Purāṇa*. Annales du Musée Guimet, 'Bibliothèque d'études', t. 67. Paris, 1963; XII, 371 pages in 8°, 8 plates.

After the pioneer works of Gopinatha Rao, Krishna Sastri and Professor J. N. Banerjea, the need was felt, on the one hand, for monographs on particular iconographic topics and, on the other, for detailed studies on important iconographic texts, either ignored or only partly utilized so far. If some laudable attempts have already been made in the first direction, the present work—which is most fittingly dedicated to Professor Banerjea, the greatest living specialist on Hindu iconography—is to my knowledge the first serious attempt in the second. The choice of the *Agni Purāṇa* is indeed a very happy one: this text contains, as the author shows, quite a number of chapters dealing with important iconographic matters. And the work of Mlle de Mallmann is the fruit of many patient researches carried out during a number of years. Let me recall that some fifteen years ago she published an important work, entitled *Introduction à l'étude d'Avalokiteśvara*, and that, since then, she has contributed a number of papers on Brahmanical and Buddhist iconography.

The book under review is divided into two parts. The first part comprises ten chapters dealing with the 'Pantheon' (pp. 15–208). The second part discusses the questions relating to 'Terminology' (pp. 211–272). At the end (pp. 275–307) we find copious extracts from the *Agni Purāṇa* and other texts bearing upon the subjects discussed in the text, a bibliography (pp. 309–321) and five indices (pp. 323–366).

The first part of the book is by far the most important. Under a

rather modest title, the author covers almost the whole field of Brahmanical iconography. She does not content herself with an account of what her text says about the execution of such and such image, but compares these data with those furnished by other available texts and with the images actually represented in sculpture and painting in different parts of the subcontinent (further, India being only occasionally mentioned). The correspondences are many, and, though Mlle de Mallmann does not pretend to give us a critical edition of the *Agni Purāṇa*, having worked, as she says on p. x, only on a limited number of versions, through her labours the text has been much improved. For, at many places, with the help of the parallel texts, she has been able to restore the original readings in the corrupt passages as usually met with in this sort of text. Whenever the occasion presents itself, she discusses the divergences between different parts of her text and the doctrinal evolutions from one chapter to another, quite understandable in an encyclopaedic work of this nature, composed during several centuries. Sometimes she seems to go far beyond the scope of her work as, e.g., in her remarkable chapter on the Sixty-four Yoginīs (I, VIII, supplemented by 'Annexe' II, pp. 292 ff.), where we find all the available materials on the subject grouped together. The author suggests an interpretation of the circular disposition of the temples of the Yoginīs which deserves attention: she finds here, as in the similar type of temples in the Mediterranean world, a solar symbolism. At Bherāghaṭ she shows how from a naturalistic conception the cult of the Yoginīs evolved towards mysticism and esoterism, reflected as well in certain texts, e.g. *Agni Purāṇa* 146. The work only gets enriched through this procedure.

Sometimes the demonstrations of Mlle de Mallmann testify to a great ingenuity. Thus, pp. 95 ff., she explains a corrupt passage of the *Agni Purāṇa* with the help of the 'Navagraha-cakra' of Khiching, already published by Professor Banerjea. The text in question, which is a description of Mārtaṇḍa-Bhairava, is certainly preserved in its correct form, as Mlle de Mallmann shows, in the Nārāyaṇīya-Tantra (quoted by Rāghavabhaṭṭa in his commentary on the *Śāradātilaka*). But in the hands of the copyists, *aṣṭabāhuṃ dviṣaṭkākṣaṃ* became (1) *antarbāhye dviṣaṭkākṣaṃ*; (2) *antarbāhye viṣabhakṣaṃ* (?); (3) *antarbāhyādikhaṭṭāṅgapadmasthaṃ*. According to Mlle de Mallmann, the third copyist was inspired by the Cakra of Khiching where, in fact, we find that the twelve spokes of the wheel, 'projecting from the interior towards the exterior' (*antarbāhya*), are represented in the form of *khaṭṭ(v)āṅgas* (rightly explained by Mlle de Mallmann as 'piéd de lit'). The Khiching sculpture is not, therefore, a simple Navagraha-cakra, as Professor Banerjea held, but a veritable *sauramaṇḍala* in which, around a central divinity, 'radiates the solar system with its twelve elements corresponding to the whole year, protected by the Nine Grahas' (p. 104). It remains to be decided whether we should identify the central divinity with Śiva (Mārtaṇḍa-Bhairava ?), as Mlle de Mallmann holds, or with Brahmā-Vidhātā, one of the Ādityas and the guardian deity of the Zenith, as Professor Banerjea held.

Interesting also is Mlle de Mallmann's interpretation of the Sonarang Stele (pp. 92 ff.), where she sees 'a *maṇḍala* of the solar and astral divinities'.

The second part of the book, dealing with 'Terminology', is a precious mine of information on costumes, head-dresses, ornaments, gestures, attitudes, *āsanas*, *vāhanas*, colours, attributes, etc.

The whole work is a magnificent example of patience and wide reading.

I would have closed my review here, had Mlle de Mallmann not authorized me to point to the few errors—of little consequence—that have found their way into the book:

P. 38. In *Agni Purāṇa* 42, 20, Mlle de Mallmann discovers the name of a *dvārapāla* of Viṣṇu: Vatsadaṇḍa. This is a misunderstanding. The passage speaks, in reality, of two *dvārapālas*, viz. Caṇḍa and Pracanda, 'armed with a *daṇḍa* after the manner of Viṣvakṣena' (*viṣvakṣenavat sadanḍau*, and not: *viṣvakṣenavatsadanḍau*, as Mlle de Mallmann reads). Mlle de Mallmann would not have committed this error if she had paid sufficient attention to the passage of the Hayaśirṣa Pañcarātra which she quotes as a parallel text: . . . *caṇḍapracanḍakau / daṇḍahastau tu kartavyau viṣvakṣenopamāv ubhau //* The name Vatsadaṇḍa, therefore, has to be effaced from the book, including the Index, p. 359.

P. 164, n. 7. Instead of *brahmāviṣṇu-maheśānais tridevair-cittā pura*, read: *brahmaviṣṇu-maheśānais tridevair-arcitā purā* (*Śāradātīlaka*, p. 519 [comment.]).

P. 186. Mlle de Mallmann translates *śakraveśma caturdvāraṃ hrdaye cintayed atha* (cf. p. 290) as: 'Que l'on pense, dans son cœur, à un appartement royal, à quatre portes'. She ought to have written: 'Que l'on pense, dans son cœur, au ciel à quatre ouvertures'. The compound *śakraveśman*, which seems to have embarrassed the author (cf. p. 186, n. 5), is nothing but a name of 'heaven, paradise' (cf. *śakrabhavana*, *°bhuvana*, *°vāsa*). The allusion is here to the 'space in the heart' (*hrdayākāśa*), with which all students of Indian mysticism are familiar.

P. 204. Mlle de Mallmann contests the interpretation of a passage of the *Agni Purāṇa*, given by Dutt. But, so far at least as the first line is concerned, Dutt's translation is undoubtedly right. Even the correction of the text, proposed by Mlle de Mallmann, is unnecessary (*yakṣiṇyaḥ + stabdha* = *yakṣiṇya stabdha*, cf. L. Renou, *Grammaire sanscrite*, pp. 37-38). The second line, however, poses a problem. If Mlle de Mallmann is right in thinking that *mahāramyā(h)* qualifies *apsarasah*, it can hardly be said that she is right also with regard to *piṅgākṣāḥ*. I have rather the impression that *mahāramyā(h)* is the corrupt form of a word designating a group like those of Yakṣiṇīs, Sākinīs, etc. It would be unjust to multiply remarks of this sort, while the merit of the work cannot be denied. I hope that it will be appreciated by all students of Indian iconography, even if they do not agree with the author on all points.

KAMALESWAR BHATTACHARYA

THE SANTALS. By Charulal Mukherjee. Revised Second Edition. Published by Messrs. A. Mukherjee & Co. Private Ltd., Calcutta 12. 459 pages, 13 plates. Price Rs.20.

The work is primarily an ethnographic study of the Santals of Mayurbhanj and Santal Parganas. It contains twelve chapters dealing with the Santals' genesis and migration, habitat and population, economic life, social fabric, kinship organization, tribal policy, etc., and four appendices. In the preface to the revised edition the author states 'To make the monograph up to date, the chapters on population and Santals and civilization and other relevant portions have been revised'. But no reference is made to the recent works on the Santals by Dr. N. Dutta Majumdar and Dr. P. C. Biswas.

In the chapter on economic life there are certain illustrations pertaining to the material culture of the tribe, but the actual measurements of the objects illustrated are not given. The chapters on 'Social Fabric' and

'Kinship Organization' are well written. The nature of joking relationships might be further elucidated.

Anthropologists are sometimes wrongly accused of treating the tribal people as museum specimens. The present monograph is also not free from the same error. On pages 376-77 the author writes '... to the anthropologists, they (the Santals) continued for a long time as museum specimens to study the evolution of man and his culture in its various facts'.

The author's genuine sympathy for the tribals has added depth to his work. The photographs which illustrate the book are presentable.

B. K. CHATTERJEE

PREHISTORY AND PROTOHISTORY IN INDIA AND PAKISTAN. By H. D. Sankalia. Published by the University of Bombay, 1962 (1963). Pages xxviii (I)+xxii (II)+315 (quarto) with 36 plates and numerous maps and sketches. Price Rs.39.50 P.

The work under review comprises the Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji Lectures delivered by Dr. H. D. Sankalia, Professor of the Deccan College Post-Graduate and Research Institute and the University of Poona, between the 6th and the 13th December, 1960, under the auspices of the University of Bombay. The learned author is one of our front-rank archaeologists, who has contributed very considerably to the knowledge of India's prehistory by conducting a number of excavations at important sites in Western India and publishing the results thereof. The work under review seeks to present a synthetic summary and analytical survey of the archaeological findings in various parts of the Indian subcontinent, and we are glad to note that the treatment of the subject is characterized by mastery of details and a comparative freedom from bias and dogmatism. The book is a welcome addition to the meagre literature on prehistoric Indian archaeology, the popularity of the subject being a recent development in India. We congratulate the author and publishers of the work.

Besides an introduction of 22 pages, the book is divided into four chapters, viz. I—Lower Palaeolithic Cultures, II—Middle Palaeolithic Cultures, III—Mesolithic Cultures, and IV—Neolithic and Chalcolithic Cultures. There are also two appendices, a bibliography and an index.

The learned author is conscious of the fact that the account of Indian prehistory presented by him is very much disjointed (p. 274) and that the development of civilization in the various areas is quite uneven and cannot be treated in a general chronological sequence, beginning with the Neolithic and passing into the Iron Age and Early Historical Cultures through the Chalcolithic and the Bronze Age (p. 155). But he has succeeded in putting together a great mass of useful information and often offered interesting suggestions.

In regard to the Indus Civilization, the most outstanding among the prehistoric and protohistoric cultures of India, Sankalia does not attempt an elaborate picture of the people's life, but discusses numerous problems relating to the antiquities discovered. Since c. 14 B.C. dates for Lothal and Kalibangan indicate the decline of the Indus Civilization in Rajasthan and Gujerat by 1800 B.C., he thinks that its end came several centuries before c. 1500-1200 B.C. when the Aryans are supposed by some scholars to have destroyed it. As the Chalcolithic or Copper Age Cultures flourished in Sind, Rajasthan, Central India, Gujerat and the Deccan about 1800 B.C., the earliest phases of civilization at some of the places would go back to the period 2100-1800 B.C. Sankalia therefore believes that these

extra-Indus cultures may have had some share in the decline of the Indus Civilization [p. xii (I)]. The main phase of the said civilization is dated by c. 14 to c. 2500 B.C., so that the other cultures of c. 1800 B.C. were contemporary with or followed closely the decline of the Indus cultures while they are themselves followed by the Painted Greyware Cultures in the Gangetic valley and, with or without a break, by the historic cultures of Peninsular India (pp. 154 f.). The Eastern Neolithic is later (though its exact period cannot be determined) while the South-Eastern Neolithic or Neolithic-Chalcolithic has been dated to c. 2000 B.C. so that it is partly contemporary with the decline of the Indus Civilization (p. 155).

The traces of fortifications at Mohenjodaro and Harappa suggested to Wheeler the fortresses of the pre-Aryans, which were destroyed by the invading Aryans according to Vedic tradition, while Lal takes them to be meant for protection against recurring floods since the remains of Cemetery H. Culture at Harappa, which is ascribed to the Aryans, do not directly overlie the ruins of the Indus Civilization. Sankalia, however, contends that the Cemetery H. Culture was not confined to the Western Punjab and thinks that the arguments against Wheeler's theory can be partly met. He further points to the difficulty in accepting the theory of decay and destruction of the Indus Civilization owing to progressive desiccation because some writers do not believe in the possibility of any major climatic change in Sind and Baluchistan during the past 6,000 years (pp. 176, 180). He seems to prefer the theory that the civilization collapsed or was eclipsed when, with the increase of population and cattle strength, symbiotic balance was upset and no expansion was possible (p. 181).

Since the so-called Mother-goddess figurines of baked clay are found only in Sind and Baluchistan and even there they are found in large numbers at Mohenjodaro and Harappa, those regions were the centres of the Mother-goddess cult according to Sankalia (p. 155). Our attention is drawn to Leeman's interesting article on 'The Trade Relations of Babylon' in the *Journal of Economic and Social History of the Orient*, Vol. III, 1960, pp. 20 ff., in which Magan (or Makkan) and Melubba of the Babylonian texts, speaking of the import of carnelian and particular types of wood from the latter country—all along the sea—have been identified respectively with Makran and Western India (including Sind and Kathiawar), and it has been suggested that Melubba may have been the Babylonian name of the land where the Indus Civilization flourished (p. 175).

As regards the results of the Hastinapur, Rupar and Alamgirpur excavations, Sankalia says, '... the people lived in mud-covered reed-houses, ate rice besides beef, pork and venison and knew copper and the horse. Towards the late phase of their life, iron was introduced. Surely this picture of the people, who are likely to be a group of Aryans and possibly some of them the *Mahābhārata* heroes, is wholly inadequate' (p. 185). We agree with this conclusion though the bringing in of the *Mahābhārata* heroes appears to be due to a persistent confusion prevalent among archaeologists.

On the recently discovered Rajardhipi culture, Sankalia thinks, on the basis of the occurrence of iron, that it 'might not be very early'; but, according to him, 'its location in the rich iron-ore and rice-growing area is highly significant'. He concludes that further exploration in the region, if followed by horizontal excavation, is likely to throw light on the early steps in agriculture and iron-mining in Eastern India (p. 239).

The book suffers from some misprints (e.g. 'wers' for 'were' at p. 269, 'compdarison' for 'comparison' at p. 272, 'thier' for 'their' at p. 275, etc.) as also from the absence or wrong use of diacritical marks in the quotation

of Sanskrit words (e.g., *anadi* for *anādi* at p. xvi (II), *Shrīmad* for *Śrīmad* at p. xvii (II), etc.). The entries in the index do not always follow a strictly alphabetical order (e.g., 'Assam' followed by 'Ashta', 'Banerjee' by 'Banaras', etc.).

The mention of modern Orissa as ancient Utkala [p. vi (II)] is not accurate since, in the Gupta Age, Utkala comprised parts of the Midnapore district of West Bengal and the Balasore district of Orissa. The Indus Civilization is stated to have been revealed in 1917–20 [p. viii (II)], though the beginning is generally assigned to 1920 (cf. *Ancient India*, No. 9, p. 80). We are told that our ancient historical tradition gives ample proof of the kingdoms and peoples of the present-day Assam, U.P., M.P., Rajasthan, Maharashtra (Vidarbha) and Gujerat (Saurashtra), but that Mysore-Karnatak, Andhra, Madras and Kerala are unknown (p. 181). But Aśmaka (in Andhra Pradesh) and Kalinga (in Andhra and Orissa) figure prominently in early Buddhist and Puranic traditions. Such regions as Bengal have been omitted from Sankalia's list, even though the Puṇḍras of North Bengal are famous in the epic and Puranic lore.

D. C. SIRCAR

RAṢṬRIYA GRANTHASOCĪH. SAMSKṚTA VIBHĀGAH, 1958–1962. Chief Editor, B. S. Kesavan. Editor, N. B. Marathe. Central Reference Library, Ministry of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs, Government of India. Price (inland) Rs.25, (foreign) 58 shillings and 4 pence or 9 dollars.

We have here a list of Sanskrit publications made in India, copies of which were delivered to the National Library at Calcutta during the years 1958–1962. It is, however, a matter of regret that all books published during the period could not be included, presumably because they were not received in time. The list is based on and is a Sanskritized version of the Sanskrit portions of the issues of the Indian National Bibliography in which the titles are in the Roman script and the descriptions in the English language. It contains a mine of information indispensable to all students of Sanskrit. Occasional brief references to the nature of contents are very useful. The list is arranged subjectwise, according to Dewey's system of classification as adapted to Sanskrit, followed by an alphabetical index. Subject headings do not always follow the traditional way of classification and are not unoften confusing. The allotment of particular works under particular headings is also not sometimes justified. A number of stray instances may be cited here. Two works on Tantric yantras or mystic diagrams are placed under a new heading called *gūḍhārthavidyā* (p. 5) which is not quite clear. Placing them under Tantras or a subsection thereof would have been more logical. Putting the *Brāhmaṇasarvasva* of Halāyudha, an exegetical work dealing with selected vedic mantras, under Smṛti (p. 45), the *Vajrasūci* of Aśvaghoṣa, a Buddhist work, under Hindudharma (p. 72), works like the *Vighneśvarapraṭiṣṭhāvidhi* and *amāvasyātarpaṇa* under Samskāra (p. 74) and *Padyāvali*, an anthological work, under Stotras (p. 91) does not appear to be quite appropriate. Quite a number of printing mistakes and other inaccuracies were noticed. Of these the peculiar form Ṣaṭkari (p. 179) used in transcribing the personal name of a well-known scholar, Dr. Satkari Mookherji, is of special interest. The monthly journal of Samskrta Sāhitya Pariṣat (p. 348) is not distributed gratis; though it so indicated (*dharmāstham*) in the descriptive note.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

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Supplement, page 8.]*

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Videha (Acarya).

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148. A fragment of the Tibetan version of a lost Indian work. (Vimuktimagga).
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